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MARIA LOUISA AND THE KING OF ROME.

CHAPTER XIX.

1811.

New titles and old names—Napoleon's dislike of literary men—Odes, &c. on the marriage of Napoleon—Chateaubriand and Lemercier—Death of Chenier—Chateaubriand elected his successor—His discourse read by Napoleon—Bonaparte compared to Nero—Suppression of the Mercure—M. de Chateaubriand ordered to leave Paris—MM. Lemercier and Esmenard presented to the emperor—Birth of the King of Rome—France in 1811—My return to Hamburg—Government committee established there—Anecdote of the Count de Chaban—Napoleon's misunderstanding with the pope—Cardinal Fesch—Convention of a council—Declaration required from the bishops—Spain in 1811—Certainty of war with Russia—Lauriston supersedes Caulaincourt at St. Petersburg—The war in Spain neglected—Troops of all nations at the disposal of Bonaparte—Levy of national guard—Treaties with France and Austria—Capitulation renewed with Switzerland—Intrigues with Czernischeff.

The princes and dukes of the empire must pardon me for so often designating them by their republican names. The marshals set less value on their titles of nobility, than the dukes and counts selected from among the civilians. Of all the sons of the republic, Regnauld de Saint-Jean-d'Angély was the most gratified at being a count, whilst among the fathers of the revolution, no one could regard with greater disdain than Fouché, his title of Duke of Otranto; he congratulated himself upon its possession only once, and that was after the fall of the empire.

I have expressed my dislike of Fouché, and the reason of that feeling was, that I could not endure his system of making the police a government within a government. He had left Paris before my return thither, but I had frequent occasion to speak of that famous personage to Savary, who, for the reason above assigned, I do not always term Duke de Rovigo. Savary knew better than any one the fallacious measures of Fouché's administration, since he was his successor. Fouché, under pretence of encouraging men of letters, though well aware that the emperor was hostile to them, intended only to bring them into contempt, by making them write verses at command. It was easily seen that Napoleon nourished a profound dislike of literary

men, though we must not conclude that he wished the public to be aware of that dislike. Those besides who devoted their pens to blazon his glory and his power, were sure to be received by him with distinction. On the other hand, as Charlemagne and Louis XIV. owed a portion of the splendour of their reigns to the lustre reflected on them by literature, he wished to appear to patronize authors, provided that they never discussed questions relating to philosophy, the independence of mankind, and civil and political rights. With regard to men of science, it was wholly different; those he held in real estimation; but men of letters, properly so called, were considered by him merely as a sprig in his imperial crown. The marriage of the emperor with an archduchess of Austria had set all the court poets to work, and in this contest of praise and flattery, it must be confessed that the false gods were vanquished by the true God; for in spite of their fulsome verses, not one of the disciples of Apollo could exceed the extravagance of the bishops in their pastoral letters. At a time when so many were striving to force themselves into notice, there still existed a feeling of esteem in the public mind for men of superior talent, who remained independent amidst the general corruption; such was M. Lemercier; such was M. de Chateaubriand. I was in Paris in the spring of 1811, at the period of Chenier's death, when the numerous friends whom Chateaubriand possessed in the second class of the Institute, looked to him as the successor of Chenier. This was more than a mere literary question, not only on account of the high literary reputation of M. de Chateaubriand already possessed, but of the recollection of his noble conduct at the period of the Duke d'Enghien's death, which was yet fresh in the memory of every one; and besides, no person could be ignorant of the immeasurable difference of opinion between Chenier and M. de Chateaubriand.

M. de Chateaubriand obtained a great majority of votes, and was elected a member of the Institute. This opened a wide field for conjecture in Paris. Every one was anxious to see how the author of the "Génie du Christianisme," the faithful defender of the Bourbons, would bend his eloquence to pronounce the eulogium of a regicide. The time for the admission of the new member of the Institute arrived; but in his discourse, copies of which were circulated in Paris, he had ventured to allude to the death of Louis XVI., and to raise his voice against the regicides. This did not displease Napoleon; but, M. du Chateaubriand also made a profession of faith in favour of liberty, which, he said, found refuge amongst men of letters when banished from the politic body. This was great boldness, for the time; for though Bonaparte was secretly gratified at seeing the judges of Louis XVI. scourged by an heroic pen, yet those men held the highest situations under the government. Cambacérès filled the second place in the em-

pire, although at a great distance from the first: Merlin de Douay was also in power: and it is known how much liberty was stifled and hidden beneath the dazzling illusion of what is termed glory. M. M. Suard, de Ségur, de Fontanes, and two or three other members of the same class of the Institute, whose names I cannot recollect, were of opinion that the discourse should be read; but it was opposed by the majority. When Napoleon was informed of what had passed, he demanded a sight of the address, which was presented to him by M. Daru. After having perused it, he exclaimed, "Had this discourse been delivered, I would have shut the gates of the Institute, and thrown M. de Chateaubriand into a dungeon for life." The storm long raged; at length means of conciliation were tried. The emperor required M. de Chateaubriand to prepare another discourse, which the latter refused to do, in spite of every menace. Madame Gay applied to Madame Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, who interested her husband in favour of the author of the "Génie du Christianisme." M. de Montalivet and Savary also acted on this occasion in the most praiseworthy manner; and succeeded in appeasing the first transports of the emperor's rage. But the name of Chateaubriand constantly called to mind the circumstances which had occasioned him to give in his resignation; and besides, Napoleon had another complaint against him. He had published in the Mercure, an article on a work of M. Alexandre de Laborde. In that article, which was eagerly read in Paris, and which caused the suppression of the Mercure, occurred the famous phrase which has been since so often repeated: "In vain a Nero triumphs: Tacitus is already born in his empire." This quotation leads me to repeat an observation which, I believe, I have already made, viz., that it is a manifest exaggeration to compare Bonaparte to Nero. Napoleon's ambition might blind his vision to political crimes; but in private life, no man could evince less disposition to cruelty. A proof that he bore little resemblance to Nero, is that his anger against the author of the article in question vented itself in mere words. "What!" exclaimed he, "does Chateaubriand think I am a fool, and that I do not know what he means? If he go on this way, I will have him sabred on the steps of the Tuileries." This language is quite characteristic of Bonaparte; but it was uttered in the first ebullition of his wrath. Napoleon merely threatened, but Nero would have made good his threat; and in such a case, there is surely some difference between words and deeds.

The discourse of M. de Chateaubriand revived Napoleon's former enmity against him; he received an order to quit Paris. M. Daru returned to him the manuscript of his discourse, which had been read by Bonaparte, who cancelled some passages with a pencil.

Such were the principal circumstances attending the nomina-

tion of Chateaubriand to the Institute. I shall now relate some others which occurred on a previous occasion, viz., on the election of an old and worthy visiter at Malmaison, M. Lemercier, and which will serve to show one of those strange inconsistencies so frequent in the character of Napoleon.

After the foundation of the empire, M. Lemercier ceased to present himself at the Tuileries, Saint-Cloud, or at Malmaison, though he was often seen in the saloons of Madame Bonaparte, while she yet hoped not to become a queen. Two places were vacant at once in the second class of the Institute, which still contained a party favourable to liberty. This party, finding it impossible to influence the nomination of both members, contented itself with naming one; it being the mutual condition in return for favouring the government candidate, that the government party should not oppose the choice of the liberals. The liberal party selected M. Lemercier; but as they knew his former connexion with Bonaparte had been broken off, they wished first to ascertain that he would do nothing to commit their choice. Chenier was empowered to inquire whether M. Lemercier would refuse to accompany them to the Tuileries, when they repaired thither in a body; and whether, on his election, he would comply with the usual ceremony of being presented to the emperor. M. Lemercier replied, that he would do nothing contrary to the customs and usages of the body to which he might belong: he was accordingly elected. The government candidate was M. Esmenard, who was also elected. The two new members were presented to the emperor on the same day. On this occasion upwards of four hundred persons were present in the saloon, from one of whom I received these details. When the emperor saw M. Lemercier, for whom he had long pretended great friendship, he said to him, in a kind tone, "Well, Lemercier, you are now installed." Lemercier respectfully bowed to the emperor, but without uttering a word in reply. Napoleon was mortified at this silence; but without saying any thing more to Lemercier, he turned to Esmenard, the member who should have been most acceptable to him, and vented upon him the whole weight of his indignation, in a manner equally unfeeling and unjust. "Well, Esmenard," said he, "do you still hold your place in the police?" These words were spoken in so loud a tone, as to be heard by all present; and it was doubtless this cruel and ambiguous speech, which furnished the enemies of Esmenard with arms to attack his reputation as a man of honour, and to give an appearance of disgrace to those functions which he exercised with so much zeal and ability.

When, at the commencement of 1811, I left Paris, I had ceased to delude myself respecting the brilliant career which seemed opening before me during the consulate. I clearly perceived that since Bonaparte, instead of receiving me as I ex-

pected, had refused to see me at all, the calumnies of my enemies were triumphant, and that I had nothing to hope for from an absolute ruler, whose past injustice rendered him the more unjust. He now possessed what he had so long and ardently wished for, a son of his own—an inheritor of his name, his power, and his throne. I must take this opportunity of stating, that the malevolent and infamous rumours spread abroad respecting the birth of the King of Rome were wholly without foundation. My friend Corvisart, who did not for a single instant leave Maria Louisa, during her long and painful labour, removed from my mind every doubt on the subject. It is as true that the young prince, for whom the emperor of Austria answered at the font, was the son of Napoleon and the archduchess Maria Louisa, as it is false that Bonaparte was the father of the first child of Hortense. The birth of the son of Napoleon was hailed with general enthusiasm.* The emperor was at the height of his power from the period of the birth of his son, until the reverse he experienced after the battle of the Moskowa. The empire, including the states possessed by the imperial family, contained nearly fifty-seven millions of inhabitants; but the period was fast approaching when this power, unparalleled in modern times, was to moulder away, and fall by its own weight.

As I took the most lively interest in all that concerned the Hanse Towns, my first care on returning to Hamburg, was to collect information from the most respectable sources concerning the influential members of the new government. Davoust was at its head. On his arrival, he had established in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in Swedish Pomerania and in Stralsund, the capital of that province, military posts and custom-houses, and that in a time of profound peace with those countries, and without any previous declaration. The omnipotence of Napoleon,

* The reader will find some very interesting notices of this great event and the fêtes which followed, in the Memoirs of the Duchess of Abrantès. It appears from Mademoiselle Avrillion's memoirs, that Napoleon was the first to announce to Josephine the birth of his son—a singular departure from all delicacy of feeling. "In such circumstances," said Mademoiselle, "all that passes in the breast of a woman is inexplicable: the empress testified the greatest and the most sincere joy at an event which was considered by almost all Frenchmen as an immense happiness for the empire. * * * She showed me, with a sort of pride, the letter the emperor had written her with his own hand, and in which he added, after having said 'My dear Josephine I have a son,' these other words, 'I am at the summit of my happiness.'"

"Yes!" said the Empress Josephine to me, with visible emotion, though without any sign of jealousy or ill-humour, 'Yes! he must be very happy!" and then after drying some tears that escaped her, she continued, "and I, also —I too ought to be very happy at the happiness of the emperor—happy to see the fulfilment of the wishes of all France—I now gather the fruits of my painful sacrifices, since they have secured the prosperity of France."

The little King of Rome, Napoleon Francis Bonaparte, was born on the 20th of March, 1811.—*Editor.*

and the terror inspired by the name of Davoust, overcame all obstacles which might have opposed those iniquitous usurpations. The weak were forced to yield to the strong.

At Hamburg a government committee was formed, consisting of the Prince of Eckmuhl, as president, Count de Chaban, counsellor of state, who superintended the departments of the interior and finance, and of M. Faure, counsellor of state, who was appointed to form and regulate the courts of law. I had sometimes met M. de Chaban at Malmaison. He was distantly related to Josephine, and had formerly been an officer in the French guards. He was compelled to emigrate, having been subjected to every species of persecution during the revolution. I recollect an anecdote, which but too well depicts those disastrous times. The Count de Chaban, being obliged to cross France during the reign of terror, was compelled to assume a disguise. He accordingly provided himself with a smock-frock, a cart and horses, and a load of corn. In this manner he journeyed from place to place, till he reached the frontiers. He stopped at Rochambeau, in the Vendomais, where he was recognised by the Marshal de Rochambeau, who, to guard against exciting any suspicion among his servants, treated him as if he had really been a carman, and said to him, "You may dine in the kitchen." M. de Chaban was among the first of the emigrants who returned to France after the 18th Brumaire. He was at first made sub-prefect of Vendome ; but, on the union of Tuscany with France, Napoleon created him a member of the junta appointed to regulate the affairs of Tuscany. He next became prefect of Coblentz and Brussels, was made a count by Bonaparte, and was afterwards chosen a member of the government committee at Hamburg. M. de Chaban was a man of upright principles, and he discharged his various functions in a way that commanded esteem and attachment.

During my stay in Hamburg, which on this occasion was not very long, Napoleon's attention was particularly engaged by the campaign of Portugal and his discussions with the pope. At this period, the thunderbolts of Rome were not very alarming. Yet precautions were taken to keep secret the excommunication which Pius VII. had pronounced against Napoleon. The event, however, got reported about, and a party in favour of the pope speedily rose up among the clergy, and more particularly among the fanatics. Napoleon sent to Savona the Archbishops of Nantz, Bourges, Treves, and Tours, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation with his holiness. But all their endeavours were unavailing, and after staying a month at Savona, they returned to Paris without having done any thing. But Napoleon was not discouraged by this first disappointment, and he shortly afterwards sent a second deputation, which experienced the same fate as the first. Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, took part with the pope. For this fact I can vouch, though I cannot

IE PAINTING BY SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE MARQUIS DE BASSANO. ENGRAVED BY M. HAIDER.

NAPOLEON'S SON, THE KING OF ROME.

for an answer which he is said to have made to the emperor. I have been informed, that when Napoleon was one day speaking to his uncle about the pope's obstinacy, the cardinal made some observations to him on his (Bonaparte's) conduct to the holy father, upon which Napoleon flew into a passion, and said that the pope and he were two old fools. "As for the pope," said he, "he is too obstinate to listen to any thing. No, I am determined he shall never have Rome again.... He will not remain at Savona, and where does he wish I should send him?"—"To heaven, perhaps," replied the cardinal.

The truth is, the emperor was violently irritated against Pius VII. Observing with uneasiness, the differences and difficulties to which all these dissensions gave rise, he was anxious to put a stop to them. As the pope would not listen to any propositions that were made to him, Napoleon convoked a council, which assembled in Paris, and at which several Italian bishops were present. The pope insisted that the temporal and spiritual interests should be discussed together; and, however disposed a certain number of prelates, particularly the Italians, might be to separate these two points of discussion, yet the influence of the church, and well-contrived intrigues, gradually gave preponderance to the wishes of the pope. The emperor, having discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on by several of the bishops and archbishops who had seats in the council, determined to get rid of some of them, and the Bishops of Ghent, Troyes, Tournay, and Toulouse, were arrested and sent to Vincennes. They were superseded by others. He wished to dissolve the council, which he saw was making no advance towards the object he had in view, and fearing that it might adopt some act at variance with his supreme wish, every member of the council was individually required to make a declaration that the proposed changes were conformable to the laws of the church. It was said at the time, that they were unanimous in this individual declaration, though it is certain that in the sittings of the council opinions were divided. I know not what his holiness thought of these written opinions compared with the verbal opinions that had been delivered; but certain it is, though still a captive at Savona, he refused to adhere to the concessions granted in the secret declarations.

The conflicts which took place in Spain during the summer of 1811, were unattended by any decisive results. Some brilliant events, indeed, attested the courage of our troops, and the skill of our generals. Such were the battle of Albufera and the taking of Tarragona, while Wellington was obliged to raise the siege of Badajos.* These advantages, which were attended only by glory, encouraged Napoleon in the hope of triumphing in the Peninsula, and enabled him to enjoy the brilliant fêtes

* The reader will remember that the British, on pretty good ground, claimed the victory at Albufera.—*Editor.*

which took place at Paris, in celebration of the birth of the King of Rome.

On his return from a tour in Holland, at the end of October, Napoleon clearly saw that a rupture with Russia was inevitable. In vain he sent Lauriston, as ambassador to St. Petersburg, to supersede Caulaincourt, who would no longer remain there: all the diplomatic skill in the world could effect nothing with a powerful government, which had already formed its determination. All the cabinets in Europe were now unanimous in wishing for the overthrow of Napoleon's power, and the people no less ardently wished for an order of things less fatal to their trade and industry. In the state to which Europe was reduced, no one could counteract the wish of Russia and her allies to go to war with France—Lauriston, no more than Caulaincourt.

The continental war for which Napoleon was now obliged to prepare, forced him to neglect Spain, and to leave his interests in that country in a state of real danger. Indeed, his occupation of Spain, and his well-known wish to maintain himself there, were additional motives for inducing the powers of Europe to enter upon a war which would necessarily divide Napoleon's forces. All at once, the troops which were in Italy and the north of Germany moved towards the frontiers of the Russian empire. In March, 1811, the emperor had all the military forces of Europe at his disposal. It was curious to see this union of nations, distinguished by difference of manners, language, religion, and interests, all ready to fight for one man, against a power who had done nothing to offend them. Prussia herself, though she could not pardon the injuries he had inflicted upon her, joined his alliance, but with the intention of breaking it on the first opportunity. When the war with Russia was first spoken of, Duroc and I had frequent conversations on the subject. I communicated to him all the intelligence I received from abroad respecting that vast enterprise. The Duke de Rovigo shared all my forebodings; and if he, and those who thought like him had been listened to, the war would probably have been avoided. Through him I learned who were the individuals who urged the invasion. The eager ambition with which they looked forward to viceroyalties, duchies, and endowments, blinded them to the possibility of seeing the Cossacks in Paris.

The gigantic enterprise being determined on, vast preparations were made for carrying it into effect. Before his departure, Napoleon, who was to take with him all the disposable troops, caused a senatus consultum to be issued for levying the national guards, who were divided into three corps. He also arranged his diplomatic affairs, by concluding, in February, 1812, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia, by virtue of which the two contracting powers mutually guaranteed the integrity of their own possessions, and the European possessions of the Ottoman Porte, because that power was then at war with

Russia. A similar treaty was concluded about the beginning of March with Austria, and about the end of the same month, Napoleon renewed the capitulation of France and Switzerland. At length, in the month of April, there came to light an evident proof of the success which had attended M. Czernischeff's intrigues in Paris. It was ascertained that a clerk in the war-office, named Michel, had communicated to him the situation of the French forces in Germany. Michel was condemned to death, for the time was gone by, when Bonaparte, confident in his genius and good fortune, could communicate his plans to the spy of General Mélas.

CHAPTER XX.

1811—1812.

Attacks of my enemies—Memorial to the emperor—Ogier de la Saussaye, and the mysterious box—Removal of the pope to Fontainebleau—Anecdote of his holiness and M. Denon—Departure of Napoleon and Maria Louisa for Dresden—Situation of affairs in Spain and Portugal—Rapp's account of the emperor's journey to Dantzic—Mutual wish for war on the part of Napoleon and Alexander—Sweden and Turkey—Napoleon's vain attempt to detach Sweden from her alliance with Russia.

I TRUST, that whatever my readers may reproach me with, they cannot complain of my speaking too frequently of myself. I hide myself as much as possible behind those important personages whom I have known intimately, and with whom I have endeavoured to make others acquainted. However, there are some circumstances in which I am personally concerned, and the mention of which I cannot with propriety omit. Such are the infamous calumnies which incessantly and bitterly pursued me from the moment when my functions in Hamburg ceased by the union of the Hanse Towns with the great metropolitan empire. The little that I have already stated on this subject, will have sufficed to point out the quarter whence these calumnies proceeded. I suppose, that by assailing me, Davoust consoled himself for his disappointment in not becoming viceroy of Poland.

In March, 1812, when I saw that an approaching war would necessarily take Napoleon from France, weary of the persecutions, and even threats, by which I was every day assailed, I addressed to the emperor a memorial explaining my conduct, and showing the folly and wickedness of my accusers. Among them was a certain Ogier de la Saussaye, who had sent a report

to the emperor, in which the principal charge was, that I had carried off a box containing important papers belonging to the first consul. The accusation of Ogier de la Saussaye, terminated thus: "I add to my report the interrogatories of MM. Westphalen, Osy, Chapeau Rouge, Ankscher, Thierry, and Gumprecht-Mares. The evidence of the latter bears principally on a *certain mysterious box, a secret upon which it is impossible to throw any light, but the reality of which we are bound to believe.*" These are his words. The affair of the mysterious box has been already explained. I have already informed the reader that I put my papers into a box, which I buried lest it should be stolen from me. But for that precaution I should not have been able to lay before the reader the autograph documents in my possession, and which I imagine form the most essential part of these volumes. In my memorial to the emperor, I said, in allusion to the passage above quoted, "This, sire, is the most atrocious part of Ogier's report. Gumprecht being questioned on this point, replies, that the accuser has probably, as well as himself, seen the circumstance mentioned in an infamous pamphlet which appeared seven or eight years ago. It was, I think, entitled 'Le Secret du Cabinet des Tuileries,' and was very likely, at the time of its appearance, denounced by the police. In that libel it is stated, among a thousand other calumnies equally false and absurd, that *When I left the first consul I carried away a box full of important papers; that I was in consequence sent to the Temple, where your brother Joseph came to me and offered me my liberation, and a million of francs, if I would restore the papers, which I refused to do, &c.* Ogier, instead of looking for this libel in Hamburg, where I read it, has the impudence to give credit to the charge, the truth of which could have been ascertained immediately: and he adds, *This secret we are bound to believe.* Your majesty knows whether I was ever in the Temple, and whether Joseph ever made such an offer to me." I entreated that the emperor would do me the favour to bring me to trial; for, certainly, I should have regarded that as a favour, rather than to remain as I was, exposed to vague accusations; yet all my solicitations were in vain. My letter to the emperor remained unanswered; but though Bonaparte could not spare a few moments to reply to an old friend, I learned through Duroc the contempt he cherished for my accusers. Duroc advised me not to be uneasy, and that in all probability the emperor's prejudices against me would be speedily overcome; and I must say, that if they were not overcome, it was neither the fault of Duroc nor Savary, who knew how to estimate the miserable intrigues just alluded to.

Napoleon was at length determined to extend the bounds of his empire, or rather to avenge the injuries which Russia had committed against his continental system. Yet, before he departed for Germany, the resolute refusal of the pope to submit

NAPOLEON AND PIUS VII AT FONTAINEBLEAU.

to any arrangement, occasionally claimed his consideration. Savona did not appear to him a sufficiently secure residence for such a prisoner. He feared that when all his strength should be removed towards the Niemen, the English might carry off the pope, or that the Italians, excited by the clergy, whose dissatisfaction was general in Italy, would stir up those religious dissensions which are always fatal and difficult to quell. With the view, therefore, of keeping the pope under his control, he removed him to Fontainebleau, and even at one time thought of bringing him to Paris.

The emperor appointed M. Denon to reside with the pope at Fontainebleau ; and to afford his illustrious prisoner the society of such a man, was certainly a delicate mark of attention on the part of Napoleon. When speaking of his residence with Pius VII., M. Denon related to me the following anecdote: "The pope," said he, "was much attached to me. He always addressed me by the appellation *my son*, and he loved to converse with me, especially on the subject of the Egyptian expedition. One day he asked me for my work on Egypt, which he said he wished to read; and, as you know, it is not quite orthodox, and does not perfectly agree with the creation of the world according to Genesis, I at first hesitated ; but the pope insisted, and at length I complied with his wish. The holy father assured me that he had been much interested by the perusal of the book. I made some allusion to the delicate points ; upon which he said, 'No matter, no matter, my son; all that is exceedingly curious, and I must confess entirely new to me.' I then," continued M. Denon, "told his holiness why I hesitated to lend him the work, which, I observed, he had excommunicated, together with its author. 'Excommunicated you, my son?' resumed the pope, in a tone of affectionate concern. 'I am very sorry for it, and I assure you I was far from being aware of any such thing.'" When M. Denon related to me this anecdote, he told me how greatly he had admired the virtues and resignation of the holy father; but he added, that it would nevertheless have been easier to make him a martyr, than to induce him to yield on any point, until he should be restored to the temporal sovereignty of Rome, of which he considered himself the depositary, and which he would not endure the reproach of having willingly sacrificed. After settling the place of the pope's residence, Napoleon set off for Dresden, accompanied by Maria Louisa, who had expressed a wish to see her father.*

* "Come, you, who would form a correct idea of the domination exercised by Napoleon over Europe; who desire to fathom the depth of terror into which the sovereigns of the continent were plunged ; come, transport yourselves with me to Dresden, and there contemplate that mighty chief at the proudest period of his glory—so near to that of his humiliation !

"The emperor occupied the principal apartments of the palace. He brought

The Russian enterprise, the most gigantic, perhaps, the genius of man ever conceived, since the conquest of India by Alexander, now absorbed universal attention, and defied the calculations of reason. The Manzanares was forgotten, and nothing was thought of but the Niemen, already so celebrated by the raft of Tilsit. Thither, as towards a common centre, were moving men, horses, provisions, and baggage of every kind, from all parts of Europe. The hopes of our generals, and the fears of all prudent men, were directed to Russia. The war in Spain, which was becoming more and more unfortunate, excited but a feeble interest; and our most distinguished officers looked upon it as a disgrace to be sent to the Peninsula. In short, it was easy to foresee that the period was not far distant when the French would be obliged to recross the Pyrenees. Though the truth was concealed from the emperor on many subjects, yet he was not deceived as to the situation of Spain in the spring of 1812. In February the Duke of Ragusa* had frankly informed him that the armies of Spain and Portugal could not, without considerable reinforcements of men and money, hope for any important advantages, since Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz had fallen into the hands of the English.

with him almost the whole of his household, and formed a regular establishment. The King of Saxony was nothing: it was constantly at Napoleon's apartments that the sovereigns and their families were assembled, by cards of invitation from the grand marshal of his palace. Private individuals were sometimes admitted; I had myself that honour, on the day of my appointment to Poland. The emperor held his levees as usual at nine. Then you should have seen in what numbers, with what submissive timidity, a crowd of potentates—mixed and confounded, among the courtiers, and often entirely overlooked by them—awaited in fearful expectation the moment of appearing before the new arbiter of their destinies! You should have heard the frivolous questions which the emperor put to them, and the humble answers which they ventured to hazard! What Phædra said of Hippolytus, may be justly applied to Napoleon's residence at Dresden:

'Even at the altars where I seem'd to pray,
This was the real god of all my vows.'

"Napoleon was, in fact, the god of Dresden, the only king among all the kings assembled there—the king of kings!—on *him* all eyes were turned; in *his* apartments, and around *his* person, were collected the august guests who filled the palace of the King of Saxony. The throng of foreigners, of officers, of courtiers—the arrival and departure of couriers, crossing one another in every direction; the mass of people hurrying to the gates of the palace, at the least movement of the emperor, crowding upon his steps, gazing at him with an air of mingled admiration and astonishment—the expectation of the future strongly painted in every face, the confidence on one side, the anxiety on the other—all these together, presented the vastest and most interesting picture, the most brilliant and dazzling monument ever yet raised to the power of Napoleon! He had now certainly attained the zenith of his glory. He might hold his elevated station; but to surpass it seemed impossible."—*Histoire de l'Ambassade dans le Grand Duché de Varsovie, en* 1812. Par M. de Pradt, Archevêque de Malines, alors Ambassadeur à Varsovie. (*Editor.*)

* Marshal Marmont.—*Editor.*

IE PAINTING BY JEAN-BAPTISTE-PAULIN GUÉRIN, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES. ENGRAVED BY T. .

AUGUSTE-FRÉDÉRIC-LOUIS VIESSE DE MARMONT, DUKE OF RAGUSA.

Before he commenced his great operations on the Niemen and the Volga, Napoleon made a journey to Dantzic, and Rapp, who was then governor of that city, informed me of some curious particulars connected with the imperial visit. The fact is, that if Rapp's advice had been listened to, and had been supported by men higher in rank than himself, Bonaparte would not have braved the chances of the Russian war until those chances turned against him. Speaking to me of the Russians, Rapp said, "Those ..... will soon be as wise as we are! Every time we go to war with them, we teach them how to beat us." I was struck with the originality and truth of this observation, which, at the time I heard it, was new, though it has been often repeated since.

"On leaving Dresden," said Rapp to me, "Napoleon came to Dantzic. I expected a dressing; for, to tell you the truth, I had treated very cavalierly both his custom-house and its officers, who were raising up as many enemies to France as there were inhabitants in my government. I had also warned him of all that has since happened in Russia, but I assure you I did not think myself quite so good a prophet. In the beginning of 1812, I thus wrote to him: 'If your majesty should experience reverses, you may depend on it that both Russians and Germans will rise up in a mass to shake off the yoke. There will be a crusade, and all your allies will abandon you. Even the King of Bavaria, on whom you rely so confidently, will join the coalition. I except only the King of Saxony. He, perhaps, might remain faithful to you; but his subjects will force him to make common cause with your enemies.' The King of Naples," continued Rapp, "who had the command of the cavalry, had been to Dantzic before the emperor. He did not seem to take a more favourable view of the approaching campaign than I did. Murat was dissatisfied that the emperor would not consent to his rejoining him in Dresden; and he said that he would rather be a captain of grenadiers than a king such as he was."

Here I interrupted Rapp to tell him what had fallen from Murat when I met him in the Champs-Elysées. "Bah!" resumed Rapp, "Murat, brave as he was, was a craven in Napoleon's presence. On the emperor's arrival in Dantzic, the first thing of which he spoke to me was the alliance he had just then concluded with Prussia and Austria. I could not refrain from telling him that we did a great deal of mischief as allies; a fact of which I was assured from the reports daily transmitted to me respecting the conduct of our troops. Bonaparte tossed his head, as you know he was in the habit of doing when he was displeased. After a moment's silence, dropping the familiar thee and thou, he said, 'Monsieur le Général, this is a torrent which must be allowed to run itself out. It will not last long. I must first ascertain whether Alexander decidedly wishes for war.' Then, suddenly changing the subject of conversation,

he said, 'Have you not lately observed something extraordinary in Murat? I think he is quite altered. Is he ill?'—'Sire,' replied I, 'Murat is not ill, but he is out of spirits.'—'Out of spirits; but why? Is he not satisfied with being a king?'—'Sire, Murat says he is no king.'—'That is his own fault. Why does he make himself a Neapolitan. Why is he not a Frenchman? When he is in his kingdom he commits all sorts of follies. He favours the trade of England; that I will not suffer.'

"When," continued Rapp, "he spoke of the favour extended by Murat to the trade between Naples and England, I thought my turn would come next; but I was deceived. No more was said on the subject; and when I was about to take my leave, the emperor said to me, as when in his best of humours, 'Rapp, you will sup with me this evening.' I accordingly supped that evening with the emperor, who had also invited the King of Naples and Berthier. Next day, the emperor visited the fortress, and afterwards returned to the government-palace, where he received the civil and military authorities. He again invited Murat, Berthier, and me to supper. When we first sat down to table, we were all very dull, for the emperor was silent; and, as you well know, under such circumstances, not even Murat himself dared to be the first to speak to him. At length, Napoleon, addressing me, inquired how far it was from Cadiz to Dantzic? 'Too far, sire,' replied I.—'I understand you, Monsieur le Général; but in a few months the distance will be still greater.'—'So much the worse, sire!' Here there was another pause. Neither Murat nor Berthier, on whom the emperor fixed a scrutinizing glance, uttered a word; and Napoleon again broke silence, but without addressing any one of us in particular: 'Gentlemen,' said he, in a solemn, and rather low tone of voice, 'I see plainly, that you are none of you inclined to fight again. The King of Naples does not wish to leave the fine climate of his dominions; Berthier wishes to enjoy the diversion of the chase at his estate of Grosbois; and Rapp is impatient to be back to his hotel in Paris.' Would you believe it," pursued Rapp, "that neither Murat nor Berthier said a word in reply? and the ball again came to me. I told him frankly, that what he said was perfectly true; and the King of Naples and the Prince of Neufchâtel complimented me on my spirit, and observed that I was quite right in saying what I did. 'Well,' said I, 'since it was so very right, why did you not follow my example, and why leave me to say all?' You cannot conceive," added Rapp, "how confounded they both were; and especially Murat, though he was very differently situated from Berthier.

The negotiations which Bonaparte opened with Alexander, when he yet wished to seem averse to war, resembled those oratorical paraphrases which do not prevent us coming to the

conclusion we wish. The two emperors equally desired war; the one with the view of consolidating his power, and the other in the hope of freeing himself from a yoke which threatened to reduce him to a state of vassalage; for it was little short of this, to require a power like Russia to close her ports against England, for the mere purpose of favouring the interests of France. At that time, only two European powers were not tied to Napoleon's fate—Sweden and Turkey. Napoleon was anxious to gain the alliance of those two powers. With respect to Sweden, his efforts were vain: and though, in fact, Turkey was then at war with Russia, yet the grand seignior was not now, as at the time of Sebastiani's embassy, subject to the influence of France.

The peace, which was soon concluded at Bucharest, between Russia and Turkey, increased Napoleon's embarrassment. The left of the Russian army, secured by the neutrality of Turkey, was reinforced by Bagration's corps from Moldavia: it subsequently occupied the right of the Beresina, and destroyed the last hope of saving the wrecks of the French army, which was now reduced one-half. It is difficult to conceive how Turkey could have allowed the consideration of injuries she had received from France to induce her to terminate her war with Russia, when France was attacking that power with immense forces. The Turks had never a fairer opportunity for taking revenge on Russia, and, unfortunately for Napoleon, they suffered it to escape.*

Napoleon was not more successful when he sought the alliance of a prince whose fortune he had made, and who was allied to his family, but with whom he had never been on terms of good understanding. The Emperor Alexander had a considerable corps of troops in Finland, destined to protect that country against the Swedes; Napoleon having consented to that occupation, in order to gain the provisional consent of Alexander to the invasion of Spain. What was the course pursued by Napoleon, when, being at war with Russia, he wished to detach Sweden from her alliance with Alexander? He intimated to Bernadotte, that he had a sure opportunity of retaking

* This important treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey, through the mediation of Great Britain, was admirably conducted and brought to a most successful issue by Sir Stratford, then Mr. S. Canning, and a young man and a very young diplomatist. Sir Stratford, like his cousin, the late Mr. G. Canning, has gained high literary honours as well as political ones. He is the author of a magnificent ode on the fall of Bonaparte, a production with which the late Lord Byron was enchanted. It is somewhat curious that three years ago the court of Russia should have positively refused to receive as British ambassador the distinguished individual who, twenty-four years ago, did their country such signal service. Such, however, was the fact, and after long delays, and many heart-burnings, during which the Emperor Nicholas would state no motives for his almost unprecedented refusal, Lord Durham was appointed by the present cabinet to supply Sir Stratford Canning's place.—*Editor.*

Finland; a conquest which would gratify his subjects, and win their attachment to him. By this alliance Napoleon wished to force Alexander not to withdraw the troops, who were in the north of his empire, but rather to augment their numbers, in order to cover Finland and St. Petersburg. It was thus that Napoleon endeavoured to draw the prince royal into his coalition. It was of little consequence to Napoleon whether Bernadotte succeeded or not. The Emperor Alexander would nevertheless have been obliged to increase his force in Finland; that was all that Napoleon wished. In the gigantic struggle upon which France and Russia were about to enter, the most trivial alliance was not to be neglected. In January, 1812, Davoust invaded Swedish Pomerania without any declaration of war, and without any apparent motive. Was this inconceivable violation of territory likely to dispose the Prince Royal of Sweden to the proposed alliance, even had that alliance not been adverse to the interests of his country? That was impossible; and Bernadotte took the part which was expected of him. He rejected the offers of Napoleon, and prepared for coming events.

The Emperor Alexander wished to withdraw his force from Finland, for the purpose of more effectively opposing the immense army which threatened his states. Unwilling to expose Finland to an attack on the part of Sweden, he had an interview, on the 28th of August, 1812, at Abo, with the prince royal, to come to an arrangement with him for uniting their interests. I know that the Emperor of Russia pledged himself, whatever might happen, to protect Bernadotte against the fate of the new dynasties—to guarantee the possession of his throne—and promised that he should have Norway as a compensation for Finland. He even went so far as to hint that Bernadotte might supersede Napoleon. Bernadotte adopted all the propositions of Alexander, and from that moment Sweden made common cause against Napoleon. The prince royal's conduct has been much blamed; but the question resolved itself into one of mere political interest. Could Bernadotte, a Swede by adoption, prefer the alliance of an ambitious sovereign, whose vengeance he had to fear, and who had sanctioned the seizure of Finland, to that of a powerful monarch, his formidable neighbour, his protector in Sweden, and whose hostility might effectually support the hereditary claims of young Gustavus? Sweden, in joining France, would thereby have declared herself the enemy of England. Where, then, would have been her navy, her trade, and even her existence?

FROM THE CRAYON SKETCH BY GIRODET TRIOSON, IN THE COLLECTION OF COUNT A. D'HUNOLSTEIN.

NAPOLEON AT THE THEATER OF ST. CLOUD, APRIL 13, 1812.

CHAPTER XXI.

1812.

Changeableness of Bonaparte's plans and opinions—Articles for the Moniteur dictated by the first consul—The protocol of the congress of Châtillon—Conversations with Davoust at Hamburg—Promise of the viceroyalty of Poland—Hope and disappointment of the Poles—Influence of illusion on Bonaparte—The French in Moscow—Disasters of the retreat—Mallet's conspiracy—Intelligence of the affair communicated to Napoleon at Smolensko—Circumstances detailed by Rapp—Real motives of Napoleon's return to Paris—Murat, Ney, and Eugène—Power of the Italians to endure cold—Napoleon's exertions to repair his losses—Defection of General Yorck—Convocation of a privy council—War resolved on—Wavering of the pope—Useless negotiations with Vienna—Maria Louisa appointed Regent.

It may now be asked whether Bonaparte, previous to entering upon the last campaign, had resolved on restoring Poland to independence. The fact is, that Bonaparte, as emperor, never entertained any positive wish to re-establish the old kingdom of Poland, though at a previous period he was strongly inclined to that re-establishment, of which he felt the necessity. He may have said that he would re-establish the kingdom of Poland, but I must beg leave to say, that that is no reason for believing that he entertained any such design. He had said, and even sworn, that he would never aggrandize the territory of the empire! The changeableness of Bonaparte's ideas, plans, and projects, renders it difficult to seize them; but they may be best understood, when it is considered that all Napoleon's plans and conceptions varied with his fortune. Thus, it is not unlikely that he might at one time have considered the re-establishment of Poland as essential to European policy, and afterwards have regarded it as adverse to the development of his ambition.* Who can venture to guess what passed in his mind, when dazzled by his glory at Dresden; and whether, in one of his dreams, he might not have regarded the empire of the Jagellons as another gem in the imperial diadem? The truth is, that Bonaparte, when general-in-chief of the army of Egypt and first consul, had deeply at heart the avenging the dismemberment of Poland, and I have often conversed with him on this most

* As the Polish question still remains of the highest interest, we shall give a short historical sketch of it.—*Editor.*

interesting subject, upon which we entirely concurred in opinion. But times and circumstances were changed since we walked together on the terrace of Cairo, and mutually deplored the death of young Sulkowski. Had Sulkowski lived, Napoleon's favourable intentions with respect to Poland might perhaps have been confirmed. A fact which explains to me the coolness, I may almost say the indifference, of Bonaparte, to the resurrection of Poland, is, that the commencement of the consulate was the period at which that measure particularly occupied his attention. How often did he converse on the subject with me and other persons, who may yet recollect his sentiments! It was the topic on which he most loved to converse, and on which he spoke with feeling and enthusiasm. In the Moniteur of the period here alluded to, I could point out more than one article without signature, or official character, which Napoleon dictated to me, and the insertion of which in that journal, considering the energy of certain expressions, sufficiently proves that they could have emanated from none but Bonaparte. It was usually in the evening that he dictated to me these articles. Then, when the affairs of the day were over, he would launch into the future, and give free scope to his vast projects. Some of these articles were characterized by so little moderation, that the first consul would very often destroy them in the morning, smiling at the violent ebullitions of the preceding night. At other times I took the liberty of not sending them to the Moniteur on the night on which they were dictated; and though he might earnestly wish their insertion, I adduced reasons, good or bad, to account for the delay. He would then read over the article in question, and approve of my conduct; but he would sometimes add, "It is nevertheless true, that with an independent kingdom of Poland, and a hundred and fifty thousand disposable troops in the east of France, I should always be master of Russia, Prussia, and Austria."—"General," I would reply, "I am entirely of your opinion; but wherefore awaken the suspicions of the interested parties? Leave all to time and circumstances."

The reader may have to learn, and not, perhaps, without some surprise, that in the protocol of the sittings of the congress of Châtillon, Napoleon put forward the spoliation of Poland by the three principal powers allied against him, as a claim to a more advantageous peace, and to territorial indemnities for France. In policy, he was right, but the report of foreign cannon was already loud enough to drown the best of arguments.

After the ill-timed and useless union of the Hanse Towns to France, I returned to Hamburg in the spring of 1811, to convey my family to France. I then had some conversation with Davoust. On one occasion, I said to him, that if his hopes were realized, and my sad predictions respecting the war with Russia overthrown, I hoped to see the restoration of the kingdom of Poland. Davoust replied, that event was probable, since

he had Napoleon's promise of the viceroyalty of that kingdom, and as several of his comrades had been promised starosties. Davoust made no secret of this, and it was generally known throughout Hamburg and the north of Germany. But notwithstanding what Davoust said respecting Napoleon's intentions, I considered that these promises had been made as conditional rather than positive.

On Napoleon's arrival in Poland, the diet of Warsaw assured, as there seemed reason to be, of the emperor's sentiments, declared the kingdom free and independent. The different treaties of dismemberment were pronounced to be null; and certainly the diet had a right so to act: for it calculated upon his support. But the address of the diet to Napoleon, in which these principles were declared, was ill received. His answer was full of doubt and indecision, the motive of which could not be blamed. To secure the alliance of Austria against Russia, he had just guaranteed to his father-in-law the integrity of his dominions. Napoleon, therefore, declared that he could take no part in any movement, or resolution, which might disturb Austria in the possession of the Polish provinces, forming a part of her empire To act otherwise, he said, would be to separate himself from his alliance with Austria, and to throw her into the arms of Russia. But with regard to the Polish-Russian provinces, Napoleon declared he would see what he could do, should Providence favour the good cause. These vague and obscure expressions did not define what he intended to do for the Poles, in the event of success crowning his vast enterprises. They excited the distrust of the Poles, and had no other result. On this subject, however, one observation occurs, which is of some force, as an apology for Napoleon. Poland was successively divided between three powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with each of which Napoleon had been at war, but never with all three at once. He had, therefore, never been able to take advantage of his victories to re-establish Poland, without injuring the interests of neutral powers, or of his allies. Hence it may be concluded, not only that he never had the positive will, which would have triumphed over all obstacles, but also that there never was a possibility of realizing those dreams and projects of revenge in which he had indulged on the banks of the Nile, as it were, to console the departed spirit of Sulkowski.

Bonaparte's character presents many unaccountable incongruities. Although the most positive man that perhaps ever existed, yet there never was one who more readily yielded to the charm of illusion. In many circumstances, the wish and the reality were to him one and the same thing. He never indulged in greater illusions than at the beginning of the campaign of Moscow. Even before the approach of the disasters, which accompanied the most fatal retreat recorded in history, all sensible persons concurred in the opinion that the emperor ought to

have passed the winter of 1812-13 in Poland, and have resumed his vast enterprises in the spring. But his natural impatience impelled him forward as it were unconsciously; and he seemed to be under the influence of an invisible demon, stronger than even his own strong will. This demon was ambition. He who knew so well the value of time, never sufficiently understood its power, and how much is sometimes gained by delay. Yet Cæsar's Commentaries, which were his favourite study, ought to have shown him that Cæsar did not conquer Gaul in one campaign. Another illusion by which Napoleon was misled during the campaign of Moscow, and perhaps past experience rendered it very excusable, was the belief that the Emperor Alexander would propose peace, when he saw him at the head of his army on the Russian territory. The prolonged stay of Bonaparte at Moscow, can indeed be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that he expected the Russian cabinet would change its opinion, and consent to treat for peace. However, whatever might have been the reason, after his long and useless stay in Moscow, Napoleon left that city with the design of taking up his winter-quarters in Poland; but Fate now frowned on Napoleon, and in that dreadful retreat, the elements seemed leagued with the Russians to destroy the most formidable army ever commanded by one chief. To find a catastrophe in history comparable to that of the Beresina, we must go back to the destruction of the legions of Varus.

Notwithstanding the general dismay which prevailed in Paris, that capital continued tranquil, when, by a singular chance, on the very day on which Napoleon evacuated the burning city of Moscow, Mallet attempted his extraordinary enterprise. This general, who had always professed republican principles, and was a man of bold, decided character, after having been imprisoned for some time, obtained the permission of government to live in Paris in an hospital-house, situated near the Barrière du Trône. Of Mallet's conspiracy it is not necessary to say much, after the excellent account given of it in the Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* Mallet's plan was to make it be believed that Bonaparte had been killed at Moscow, and that a new government was established under the authority of the senate. But what could Mallet do? Absolutely nothing; and had his government continued three days, he would have experienced a more favourable chance than that which he ought reasonably to have expected. He asserted that the emperor was dead; but an estafette from Russia would reveal the truth, resuscitate Napoleon, and overwhelm with confusion Mallet and his proclamations. His enterprise was that of a madman. The French were too weary of troubles to throw themselves into the

* For the account of Mallet's extraordinary conspiracy here alluded to by M. de Bourrienne, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter. —*Editor.*

BATAILLE DE LA MOSKOWA

THE BATTLE OF LA MOSCOWA

BATTLE OF MOSCOW.

Near the end of August, 1812, Napoleon arrived on an elevated plain, called Borodino, which the Russians had previously secured with lines and batteries.

The Emperor passed the night before the battle in giving orders. At day-break he was on foot, and summoned Caulaincourt (Auguste) to his presence. Throwing aside the curtains of his tent, he advanced towards his officers, who had already assembled in great numbers. "It is somewhat cold," said he, "but behold a splendid sun! It is the Sun of Austerlitz!" Each one answered in the same spirit, by some allusions to this happy presage.

Previous to this engagement, September 6th, Napoleon issued the following address:—

"Soldiers!—This is the conflict which you have so much desired. The victory depends upon you. Victory is necessary to us—it will yield us plenty—good quarters—and ensure a speedy return to France. Act as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Vitepsk, and at Smolensk; and the most remote posterity shall refer with pride to your conduct on this occasion. It shall be said of each of you, 'He was in the great battle fought on the plains of Moscow!'"

The battle raged with much fury, both on the part of the Russians and the French; but at four o'clock in the afternoon the latter had driven Koutaïsoff from the ground he originally occupied, and remained masters of the field.

"This battle," says the French historian, "opened to Napoleon the gates of Moscow! Alas! that this new victory should have been so fatal to us!"

arms of Mallet or his associate Lahorie, who had figured so disgracefully on the trial of Moreau. Yet, in spite of the evident impossibility of success, it must be confessed that considerable ingenuity and address marked the commencement of this silly conspiracy. On the 22d of October Mallet escaped from the hospital-house and went to Colonel Soulier, who commanded the tenth cohort of the national guard, whose barracks were situated exactly behind the hospital-house. So far all went well. Mallet was loaded with a parcel of forged orders, which he had himself prepared. He introduced himself to Soulier, under the name of General La Motte, and said that he came from General Mallet.

Colonel Soulier, on hearing of the emperor's death, was affected to tears. He immediately ordered the adjutant to assemble the cohort, and obey the orders of General La Motte, to whom he expressed his regret for being himself too ill to leave his bed. It was then two o'clock in the morning, and the forged documents respecting the emperor's death, and the new form of government, were read to the troops by lamp-light. Mallet then hastily set off, with twelve hundred men, to La Force, and liberated the Sieurs Guidal and Lahorie, who were confined there. Mallet informed them of the emperor's death, and of the change of government: gave them some orders, in obedience to which the minister and prefect of police were arrested in their hotel.

I was then at Courbevoie, and I went to Paris on that very morning to breakfast, as I frequently did, with the minister of the police. My surprise may be imagined when I learned from the porter that the Duke de Rovigo had been arrested, and carried to the prison of La Force. I went into the house, and was informed, to my great astonishment, that the ephemeral minister was being measured for his official suit, an act which so completely denoted the character of the conspirator, that it gave me an insight into the business.

Mallet repaired to General Hulin, who had the command of Paris. He informed him that he had been directed by the minister of the police to arrest him, and seal his papers. Hulin asked to see the order, and then entered his cabinet, where Mallet followed him, and just as Hulin was turning round to speak to him, he fired a pistol in his face. Hulin fell: the ball entered his cheek, but the wound was not mortal. The most singular circumstances connected with the whole affair is, that the captain whom Mallet had directed to follow him, and who accompanied him to Hulin's, saw nothing extraordinary in all this. Mallet next proceeded, very composedly, to Adjutant-general Doucet's. It happened that one of the inspectors of the police was there. He recognised General Mallet as being a man under his supervision. He told him that he had no right to quit the hospital-house without leave, and ordered him to be arrested.

Mallet, seeing that all was over, was in the act of drawing a pistol from his pocket; but being observed, he was seized and disarmed. Thus terminated this extraordinary conspiracy, of which fourteen lives paid the forfeit; but with the exception of Mallet, Guidal, and Lahorie, all the others concerned in it were either machines or dupes.

This affair produced but little effect in Paris; for the enterprise, and its result, were made known simultaneously. But it was thought droll enough that the minister and prefect of police should be imprisoned by the men, who, only the day before, were their prisoners. Next day I went to see Savary, who had not yet recovered from the stupefaction caused by his extraordinary adventure. He was aware that his imprisonment, though it lasted only half an hour, was a subject of merriment to the Parisians.*

The emperor, as I have already mentioned, left Moscow on the day when Mallet made his bold attempt, that is to say, the 19th of October. He was at Smolensko when he heard the news. Rapp, who had been wounded before the entrance into Moscow, but who was sufficiently recovered to return home, was with Napoleon when the latter received the despatches containing an account of what had happened in Paris. He informed me that Napoleon was much agitated on perusing them, and that he launched into abuse of the inefficiency of the police. Rapp added, that he did not confine himself to complaints against the agents of his authority. "Is then my power so insecure," said he, "that it may be put in peril by a single individual, and a prisoner! It would appear that my crown is not fixed very firmly on my head, if in my own capital, the bold stroke of three adventurers can shake it. Rapp, misfortune never comes alone; this is the complement of what is passing here. I cannot be every where; but I must go back to Paris; my presence there is indispensable to reanimate public opinion. I must have men and money. Great successes and great victories will repair all. I must set off." Such were the motives which induced the emperor to leave his army. It is not without indignation that I have heard his precipitate departure attributed to cowardice and fear. He was a stranger to such feelings, and was never more happy than on the field of battle. I can readily conceive that he was much alarmed on hearing of Mallet's enterprise. The remarks which he made to Rapp

* Savary's arrest was a rich subject for the wits of Paris. "I will quote on this occasion," says Mademoiselle Avrillion, "a *bon-mot* that was repeated from one end of the city to the other: as every one knows, it was in the middle of the night that the Duke de Rovigo was seized: the duchess, terrified by the noise she heard, rushed out of her bedroom *en chemise*, which made our punsters say that the person who had shown herself best, in the affair of Mallet, was the Duchess de Rovigo." (La personne qui s'était *le mieux montrée*, dans l'affaire de Mallet, c'était la Duchesse de Rovigo.)—*Editor.*

MARSHAL NEY SUSTAINING THE REAR-GUARD OF THE GRAND ARMY.

were those which he knew would be made by the public; and he well knew that the affair was calculated to banish those illusions of power and stability with which he endeavoured to surround his government.

On leaving Moscow, Napoleon consigned the wrecks of his army to the care of his most distinguished generals; to Murat, who had so ably commanded the cavalry, but who abandoned the army to return to Naples; and to Ney, the hero rather than the Prince of the Moskowa, whose name will be immortal in the annals of glory, as his death will be eternal in the annals of party revenge. Amidst the general disorder, Eugène, more than any other chief, maintained a sort of discipline among the Italians; and it was remarked, that the troops of the south engaged in the fatal campaign of Moscow, had endured the rigour of the cold better than those troops who were natives of less genial climates.*

Napoleon's return from Moscow was not like his returns from the campaigns of Vienna and Tilsit, when he came back crowned with laurels, and bringing peace as the reward of his triumphs. It was remarked that Napoleon's first great disaster followed the first enterprise he undertook after his marriage with Maria Louisa. This tended to confirm the popular belief, that the presence of Josephine was favourable to his fortune; and superstitious, as he sometimes was, I will not venture to affirm that he himself did not adopt this idea. He now threw off even the semblance of legality in the measures of his government: he assumed arbitrary power, under the impression that the critical circumstances in which he was placed would excuse every thing. But, however inexplicable were the means to which the emperor resorted to procure resources, it is but just to acknowledge that they were the consequence of his system of government, and that he evinced inconceivable activity in repairing his losses, so as to place himself in a situation to resist his enemies, and restore the triumph of the French standard.

But in spite of all Napoleon's endeavours, the disasters of the campaign of Russia were daily more and more sensibly felt. The King of Prussia had played a part which was an acknowledgment of his weakness in joining France, instead of openly declaring himself for the cause of Russia, which was also his. Then took place the defection of General Yorck, who commanded the Prussian contingent to Napoleon's army. The King of Prussia, though, no doubt, secretly satisfied with the conduct of General Yorck, had him tried and condemned; but shortly

* On one occasion during his flight, Napoleon owed his preservation from the Cossacks to a small body of Neapolitan cavalry that had contrived to keep itself mounted and in perfect order. The horses as well as the men from the southern extremity of Italy, from the banks of the Garigliano, the Volturno, and the Amato, resisted the inclemencies of the Russian winter much better than the French.—*Editor.*

after, that sovereign commanded in person the troops which had turned against ours. The defection of the Prussians produced a very ill effect, and it was easy to perceive, that other defections would follow. Napoleon, foreseeing the fatal chances which this event was likely to draw upon him, assembled a privy council, composed of the ministers and some of the grand officers of his household. MM. de Talleyrand and Cambacérès, and the president of the senate were present. Napoleon asked whether, in the complicated difficulties of our situation, it would be more advisable to negotiate for peace or to prepare for a new war. Cambacérès and Talleyrand gave their opinion in favour of peace, which, however, Napoleon would not hear of after a defeat; but the Duke de Feltre, knowing how to touch the susceptible chord in the mind of Bonaparte, said that he would consider the emperor dishonoured, if he consented to the abandonment of the smallest village which had been united to the empire by a senatus consultum. This opinion was adopted, and the war continued.

On Napoleon's return to Paris, the pope, who was still at Fontainebleau, determined to accede to an arrangement, and to sign an act, which the emperor conceived would terminate the differences between them. But being influenced by some of the cardinals, who had previously incurred the emperor's displeasure, Pius VII. disavowed the new concordate which he had been weak enough to grant; and the emperor, who then had more important affairs on his hands, dismissed the holy father, and published the act to which he had assented. Bonaparte had no leisure to pay attention to the new difficulties started by Pius VII.; his thoughts were wholly directed to the other side of the Rhine. He was unfortunate, and the powers with whom he was most intimately allied separated from him, as he might have expected, and Austria was not the last to imitate the example set by Prussia. In these difficult circumstances, the emperor, who, for some time past, had observed the talent and address of the Count Louis de Narbonne, sent him to Vienna, to supersede M. Otto; but the pacific propositions of M. de Narbonne were not listened to. Austria would not let slip the fair opportunity of taking revenge without endangering herself.

Napoleon now saw clearly, that since Austria had abandoned him, and refused her contingent, he should soon have all Europe arrayed against him. But this did not intimidate him.

Some of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine still remained faithful to him; and his preparations being completed, he proposed to resume in person the command of the army, which had been so miraculously reproduced. But before his departure, Napoleon, alarmed at the recollection of Mallet's attempt, and anxious to guard against any similar occurrence, during his absence, did not, as on former occasions, consign the reins of the national government to a council of ministers, pre-

RUSSIAN PEASANTS ATTACKING FRENCH STRAGGLERS

sided over by the arch-chancellor. He made the Empress Maria Louisa regent, and appointed a council of regency to assist her.

MALLET'S CONSPIRACY.

"General Mallet was a gentleman of Franche-Comté, descended from an ancient family. Before the revolution, he had served in the musqueteers of the king's household. The part he took in the revolution was sincere, and he professed its principles with great fervour. He was from heart and soul a republican; and he had a head for conspiracies similar to those of which Greek and Roman history has transmitted to us the portraits.

"He rose to the rank of general during the war of the revolution; and long before the emperor ascended the throne, he had obtained a command in the interior. His mind was continually occupied with ideas of government, but he was always faithful to his political principles. It would be too long to relate here the details of a project, nearly similar to the one in question, which he wished to carry into execution while the emperor was in Prussia in 1807. His scheme was then called insane; but, nevertheless, the minister for the police thought it his duty to arrest him. After a long confinement in one of the gaols, he was transferred to what is in Paris called a Maison de Santé. In that kind of lock-up house, or prison-hospital, I found him on my appointment to the ministry, and in it I left him. The house is the last on the left in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, near the barrier of the throne.

"Mallet had long been the comrade of Lahorie in the army of the Rhine, and learned that he was at La Force through other prisoners who had been removed to the same Maison de Santé in which he was placed. He also knew that Guidal was in La Force: with that general he had been acquainted in the time of the Directory, having met him at the house of the Director Barras, who employed him on particular services. But before proceeding further with Mallet, I ought to tell by what fatality these two men were still in La Force, from which they ought to have been removed more than a fortnight before, in pursuance of orders which I had given for that purpose.

"Guidal had been arrested at Marseilles for an affair of jacobinism, and brought to Paris for examination. This was done in consequence of the representations of the magistracy of the department of the Var, where tranquillity had been so far menaced that the prefect found it necessary to resort to extraordinary measures. While Guidal was in Paris, inquiries into another affair which occurred at Marseilles led to the discovery of a spy system, which had been established by Frenchmen at a former period on the coast of Provence, for the benefit of the English admiral who cruised before Toulon. Guidal was accused of having visited the English fleet, and of having sent his son on board of it. This espionnage was carried on for a number of years, without any thing occurring to excite a suspicion of its existence. In consequence of what transpired on the examination of

the persons arrested on this charge, application was made for the reconveyance of Guidal to Marseilles, in order to his being tried there; and a fortnight had elapsed since I made the necessary arrangements with the gendarmerie for his removal. The execution of my order was delayed; and consequently Guidal was still in the prison of La Force on the 23d of October.

"It was the same with respect to Lahorie. Since Moreau's trial, he had concealed himself in France. The emperor had frequently repeated the order for his departure, but M. Fouché allowed him to remain in Paris. Lahorie was a native of Brittany, and easily found protectors. The emperor ordered me to take measures to send him off to America, and as a preliminary step to arrest him. He was arrested accordingly. I lost no time in preparing for his departure; and he was to have been embarked at Nantz on board a vessel bound for the United States. More than a fortnight before, I had signed the papers necessary to authorize his removal to that port; but he remained in La Force, like Guidal, and in consequence of the same negligence.

"Mallet, whose mind was always occupied with his scheme for changing the government, thought he could not have a better opportunity for trying it than the present. The remote situation of the emperor and the armies seemed to smooth the difficulties which environed an enterprise so hazardous; and the success of which so materially depended on a supposition that could not be soon enough contradicted to destroy the credulity which was the leading principle of his plan.

"After meditating on the various means of which he might avail himself for the execution of his project, he fixed on the following: He supposed the emperor killed under the walls of Moscow on the 8th of October; he could not take any other day without incurring the risk of being contradicted by the arrival of the regular courier. The emperor being dead, he concluded that the senate ought to be invested with the supreme authority; and he therefore resolved to address himself in the name of that body to the nation and the army. In a proclamation to the soldiers, he deplored the death of the emperor; in another, after announcing the abolition of the imperial system and the restoration of the republic, he indicated the manner in which the government was to be reconstructed, described the branches into which public authority was to be divided, and named the directors. Attached to the different documents, there appeared the signatures of several senators whose names he recollected, but with whom he had ceased to have any intercourse for a great number of years. These signatures were all written hy Mallet; and he drew up a decree in the name of the senate, and signed by the same senators, appointing himself governor of Paris, and commander of the troops of the first military division. He also drew up other decrees in the same form, which purported to promote to higher ranks all the military officers he intended to make instruments in the execution of his enterprise.

"General Hulin had at this time the command of Paris, and Adjutant-commandant Doucet was the chief of his staff. Mallet, by one of his decrees, continued Doucet as chief of the staff, raised him to

the rank of brigadier-general, and gave him an order for one hundred thousand francs on the public treasury, payable at sight.

"Behind Mallet's Maison de Santé were the barracks, which the 10th cohort of the national guard occupied, and which also served as a depot for the 32d regiment of the line. This 10th cohort was commanded by Colonel Soulier, one of the brave old officers of the army of Italy, but unfortunately as simple as he was brave. He had arrived but a few days before from Spain, and was appointed to the command of the 10th cohort.

"Mallet was married, and his wife lived at a considerable distance from Paris. She came frequently to town to visit him, but never saw any reason to suspect that the planning of any extraordinary enterprise occupied his mind.

"A Spanish priest, who was for some time confined in the same house as Mallet, having been set at liberty, took an apartment for himself in the Place-Royale; and there remained with Mallet an abbé, named Lafond, who had been long under arrest on some charge connected with ecclesiastical affairs. Being in company with this abbé all day long, he found it necessary to confide in him. Two young men of Lafond's acquaintance were then in Paris, and he kept up intimate communications with them, but did not disclose the plan. One, a young corporal of the Paris guard, was a native of the same part of the country as the abbé; the other, a young Vendean, was studying law at Paris. The latter being of an intriguing character, became a favourite with Mallet; who, on the day before that which he selected for the execution of his project, directed him to go to the Palais-Royal, and purchase a tri-coloured scarf. At the same time he gave him a letter to his wife, in which he directed her to put his uniforms and his arms in his portmanteau, and also the uniform for an aide-de-camp, which had been left with her (probably by design), and to deliver the portmanteau and the key to the bearer.

"In obedience to Mallet's orders, the young Vendean carried the portmanteau to the lodgings of the Spanish priest in the Place-Royale. Next day, the 22d, Mallet invited the corporal and the student to dine with him, and the Abbé Lafond; and when the party broke up, he told the two young men to go to the Spanish priest's, and wait for him there.

"At ten at night, after the doors were locked, Mallet and Lafond let themselves out by the window of their apartment, which was on the ground-floor, and adjacent to the garden. The wall at the end of the garden was not very high, and when they got over it they were in the street. Having accomplished this without creating the least alarm, they proceeded on foot to the Spanish priest's lodgings in the Place-Royale. Mallet sent for punch; and when he saw that the liquor began to operate on the heads of the young men, he spoke to them of his plan as a thing long ago agreed upon between him and the senate, but which was only to be executed in the case of the emperor's death, and of that event he had but just been informed. In this way he imposed upon his two dupes, who knew him to be dissatisfied with the imperial government, but who never before had heard him hint at any thing of the kind he then proposed.

"Mallet showed them the instructions which he said had been sent to him by the committee of the government established at the Luxem-

bourg: his appointment as governor of Paris; a credit granted him to a considerable amount on the treasury; and, finally, an order for the immediate installation of new authorities in the place of those acting under the imperial government. All these documents were of his own fabrication. Without giving his auditors time for reflection, he opened his portmanteau, dressed himself in the uniform of a general-officer, made the young corporal put on the aide-de-camp's uniform, and decked out the young Vendean in the tri-coloured scarf.

"At one o'clock in the morning Mallet left the Spanish priest's apartment, accompanied by only one of the three persons I have already named, and proceeded to Popincourt-barracks, where the 10th cohort was quartered. Strangers were not admitted into the barracks of Paris during night; Mallet therefore stated that he had particular business with the commanding officer. He was conducted to the unfortunate Soulier, who was then living out of his quarters: he was sick, and was not able to receive Mallet.

"Mallet depended for the success of his enterprise entirely upon the trick he had to play here, and he certainly performed it dexterously. Without giving his name, he entered Soulier's bedroom: the colonel, after apologizing for not getting up, asked the general what commands he had for him. Mallet said, 'I see you are not informed of what has happened; we have had the misfortune to lose the emperor.' On hearing this, Soulier burst into tears; and Mallet, who affected to participate in his grief, proceeded to say, 'The government is changed, and here is the order which General Mallet has this moment given me to deliver to you.

"Soulier read the paper. It purported to be an order signed by General Mallet, requiring the colonel to muster the cohort under arms, to notify the events which had taken place, and to follow punctually whatever directions might be given by General Lamotte, who was the bearer of the order, and who had received instructions from the committee of the senate invested with the government. Thus Mallet passed himself off to Soulier as General Lamotte. Soulier saluted the general, sent for the adjutant of his cohort, ordered him to call out the troops, and in the presence of the pretended General Lamotte, expressed his regret at not being able to accompany that officer to the barracks.

"Mallet then proceeded in the character of Lamotte to the square of the barracks, where the troops were drawn up. He caused the account of the emperor's death, and the proclamations of the senate to the nation and the army, announcing the change of the government, to be read to the cohort by the light of torches. During all this scene it never struck any individual to question the truth of the facts; but certainly nothing could be more clear than the terms in which Mallet explained every thing.

"The pretended General Lamotte ordered out the cohort, which was one thousand two hundred strong, without requiring the ten thousand reserve ball-cartridges which, according to the practice of the garrison of Paris, were kept in the colonel's quarters, or making the wooden flints be changed which the soldiers put in their muskets for exercise.

"Mallet marched off at the head of the cohort, leaving only a single company in the barracks to accompany Soulier to the Hotel-de-Ville,

where the colonel was ordered to wait for him, and to make arrangements for the reception of the government committee. He did not neglect to deliver to the colonel the commission by which he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, accompanied by an order on the treasury for one hundred thousand francs.

"The 23d of October fell upon a Friday, which was parade-day for the garrison of Paris. Since the emperor's absence the parade had always taken place every day in the Place Vendome. It was necessary for the troops of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to leave their quarters early, in order to reach the Place Vendome in time. The appearance of the 10th cohort marching on the Friday morning with arms and baggage, therefore, excited no surprise.

"Mallet marched the cohort through the Rue Saint-Antoine to the gate of La Force. He ordered it to be opened, and made Guidal and Lahorie be brought to him. He then ordered the keeper to shut the gate, and to allow no other person to come out. Having embraced Lahorie and Guidal, he informed them of the emperor's death, and what had taken place in consequence of that event. He then said, 'There is no time to be lost. Here are your instructions; take this corps, and execute them. I need only half a company to go with me to take possession of the government of Paris, where I shall expect to hear from you. We shall meet afterwards at the Hotel-de-Ville.'

"Lahorie took the story of the emperor's death for granted: he had been in the confidence of General Moreau, and knew all his projects; he also remembered the 18th Brumaire, in which he had acted a part. These ideas recurred to his mind, and aided by the appearance of Mallet in his embroidered uniform, and followed by a regular corps, left no room for suspicion. He read the orders, which seemed to come in an official form to him, and took the command of the cohort, leaving only fifty men with Mallet, who hastened to take possession of the prefecture of the police. Mallet found M. Pasquier, who was in the habit of rising early, already at his post. He arrested him, and installed the Vendean student and the Abbé Lafond in his office. Notwithstanding the situation in which the prefect of the police was placed, he found means to send one of his clerks to me to inform me of what was going on. This clerk, however, when he came to my hotel, merely insisted upon seeing me immediately, and said not a word more to any one. As he was known to the porter of the hotel, he might, as a preliminary step, have caused the gate to be shut. This he did not do; and he was informed of the order I had left, when I went to bed at five in the morning, that I was not to be called except for business of importance. As he came on foot, he was not long at my hotel before General Lahorie, who appeared to have followed close at his heels, he entered like a shot, as I have already related.

"Lahorie despatched General Guidal, who had accompanied him, to arrest the minister of war; but as the sergeant, who was to have assassinated me, had not kept his word, he ran after Guidal, whom he overtook in the Rue de Saints-Pères, and brought him back to my hotel with his detachment. It was solely owing to this incident that the war-minister missed having an adventure similar to mine.

"On parting with Lahorie at the gate of La Force, Mallet sent by soldiers of the 10th cohort packets to the commanding officers of two regiments of the Parisian paid-guard. These packets contained the same proclamations which had been read to the cohort when he called

it out; and besides, minute instructions as to the duty required of the two regiments.

"He ordered one regiment to close all the barriers of Paris, and to allow no person to pass through them. This was done; so that in all the neighbouring towns from which assistance, in case of need, might have been obtained, nothing was known of the transactions in Paris. He sent the other regiments to occupy the bank, the treasury, and different ministerial offices. At the treasury some resistance was made. The minister of that department was on the spot, and he employed the guard of his household in maintaining his authority. But in the whole of the two regiments of the Paris-guard not a single objection was started to the execution of Mallet's orders.

"While Mallet was thus acting through the agency of others on different points, he proceeded himself along the Rue Saint-Honoré with the party of troops he had reserved for himself. He turned the corner of the street which leads to the Place Vendome. Here he detached from his troop an officer with twenty-five men, whom he ordered to form in order of battle in front of the office of the staff, which was the house in the angle of the Place Vendome on the left, and to allow no person to come out.

"He gave the officer a packet to be delivered to Adjutant-general Doucet. The packet contained the documents already described; namely, the proclamation announcing the death of the emperor, the decree of the senate, Mallet's appointment to the office of governor of Paris, and a brigadier-general's commission, with an order for one hundred thousand francs to Doucet. To this packet were added instructions, in the form of a confidential letter, in which Mallet expressed great satisfaction at the connexion which their relative duties in the public service would now establish between them. He directed Doucet to transmit certain orders to the troops at Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain, and Versailles, and also to those in Paris: of the last he only accepted the paid-guard, which he had already employed, and the 10th cohort, to which he had assigned the task of arresting the prefect, and the minister of the police, and also General Hulin. He added, that being aware of the intimate relation subsisting between him and General Hulin, he wished to relieve him from the disagreeable duty of arresting him, and would take that business on himself. At the same time, he warned Doucet to take care that no opposition was made to the arrest; and desired him to detain in front of his office, until further orders, the picket commanded by the officer who was the bearer of the packet.

"Adjutant-general Doucet was in bed when the officer arrived. As the officer refused to communicate with any third person, he was introduced into the bedroom of the adjutant-general, who, suddenly roused from his slumbers, was quite at a loss what to think of the despatch presented to him. He read the documents several times, and asked the officer of the 10th cohort who brought them what had occurred in his barracks. The young man related all that he knew: he had seen his corps called out under arms; had followed Mallet to La Force; had seen Lahorie and Guidal brought out; and had continued on with the rest of the cohort to the Place Vendome, whence Mallet proceeded to General Hulin, with whom he then was; 'for,' added the officer, 'I can see our detachment in front of General Hulin's quarters.' And, in fact, it was easy to see the party from the window of M. Doucet's room.

"It was impossible for Doucet to doubt the existence of an enterprise, the details of which Mallet had communicated to him in his instructions. The project, it was true, might be called absurd; but it was acted upon. Of this he could not fail to be assured, both by what he saw, and by what the young officer, who was himself one of the agents, told him: nevertheless, he not only did not stir a step to counteract what was going on, but he completely lost his self-possession, and became alarmed about his responsibility. Mallet had ordered him to arrest M. Laborde, whose activity he doubtless dreaded. Doucet sent for M. Laborde, who had apartments in the same hotel. They were reading the papers together when Mallet, returning from General Hulin's quarters, entered the room in which they were. He asked Doucet why Laborde was not under arrest, and ordered him to surrender himself. Laborde resisted; and some discussion arose, which terminated by his leaving the room, saying, 'In order to place myself under arrest, I must go hence; for this is not my apartment.' Going down stairs, he observed the inspector-general of the police, who had come to the office of the garrison-staff in quest of information. The picket of the 10th cohort stationed at the door, in pursuance of the orders which had been given by Mallet, refused him admittance; but Laborde called from the stairs to let him pass. The soldiers, who knew Laborde's person, and had long been accustomed to obey him, readily complied. Laborde told the inspector-general what was going on, and conducted him to Doucet's apartment, where Mallet still was.

"In a moment the scene changed. Mallet could no longer maintain his deception in the presence of the inspector, who, addressing him in a loud tone, said, 'Monsieur Mallet, you had no authority to leave the house where you were detained, without my permission:' then turning to Adjutant-general Doucet, he added, 'There is something under all this: arrest him in the first place, while I go to the ministry, and get an explanation of the business.' Mallet stood with his back against the fireplace of the room. Finding that all was lost, he grasped a pistol which he had in his coat-pocket. The other three saw the motion he made reflected in the opposite glass, and they immediately seized and disarmed him.

"What had happened at General Hulin's, whither Mallet had been before he came to Doucet, was learned after his arrest.

"Mallet, who was accompanied by a captain of the 10th cohort, asked to speak to General Hulin in private.

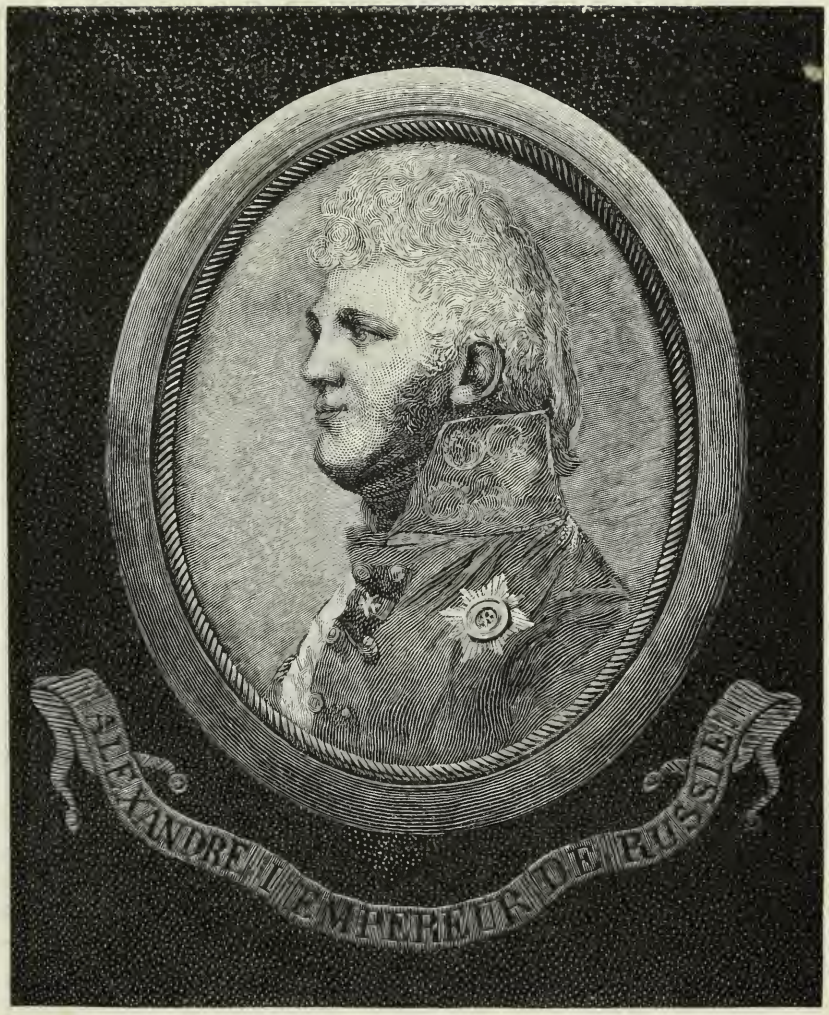
"The general came out of his official cabinet to receive him. Mallet said he had a disagreeable commission to execute, as he was ordered by the minister of the police to arrest him, and put the seals on his papers. General Hulin demanded to see the order; upon which Mallet said, 'Let us go into your cabinet, and I will show it you.' Hulin went first; Mallet, accompanied by the captain of the cohort, followed, with his hand on a pistol which was in his pocket. At the moment Hulin turned round to see the order, Mallet fired the pistol in his face, and he instantly fell. The general was not killed; but the ball, which entered by his cheek, remained in his head, and could not be extracted. Mallet then turned round, and proceeded to Adjutant-general Doucet's, without the captain, who witnessed this transaction, and had become an accomplice in it, not seeming to think it any way extraordinary."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

NOTES ON THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN, AND THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND.

We will here avail ourselves of a masterly sketch of the great campaign of 1812, which has recently been written by a military gentleman in this country, and which is alike admirable for its brevity and its correctness. We shall afterwards avail ourselves of some other equally valuable and authentic sources of information respecting this frightful tragedy, and to all which we shall add a few notes regarding Napoleon's treatment of the Poles.

"Before Napoleon set off from Paris for the Russian expedition, he directed Maret, Duke of Bassano, to write a letter to Lord Castlereagh proposing negotiations for peace, on the basis of *uti possidetis*. He was willing this time to let Sicily remain under Ferdinand, and Portugal under the House of Braganza, but he insisted on Spain being secured to his brother Joseph. It must be observed that Lord Wellington had just taken possession of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, and was advancing into Spain towards Madrid, which he shortly after entered upon gaining the battle of Salamanca. The English minister immediately replied, that England's engagements with the Spanish Cortes, acting in the name of King Ferdinand VII., rendered the acknowledgment of Joseph impossible.

"The Russian minister, Prince Kourakin, still remained at Paris. Early in May he presented an official note to the Duke of Bassano, stating that the matters in dispute between the two empires might easily be made the subject of amicable negotiations, provided the French troops should evacuate Pomerania and the duchy of Warsaw, where they could be for no other purpose than that of threatening the frontiers of Russia. Napoleon pretended to be exceedingly angry at this demand, which he said was insolent, adding that he was not used to be addressed in such a style, and to have his movements dictated by a foreign sovereign; and he sent Prince Kourakin his passports. On the 4th of May he himself set off with his empress for Dresden, where he had invited the kings of his own creation, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Westphalia, and his other tributaries, to meet him. The Emperor of Austria also repaired to Dresden with his empress. The King of Prussia came too, as he had just signed a treaty with Napoleon, by which he placed twenty thousand men at his disposal in the approaching campaign. Austria agreed to furnish thirty thousand men to act against Russian Poland. Napoleon sent the Count de Narbonne to Wilna, where the Emperor Alexander then was, to invite him to come to Dres-



FROM THE MINIATURE OWNED BY THE DUC DE BASSANO. ENGRAVED BY W. A HIRSCHMANN.

ALEXANDER I., CZAR OF RUSSIA.

den, but Alexander declined. After brilliant festivals, Napoleon quitted Dresden for Thorn, where he arrived on the 2d of June. His immense army was assembled chiefly between the Vistula and the Niemen, which latter river formed the boundary of the Russian empire. There were two hundred and seventy thousand French, eighty thousand Germans of the Confederation of the Rhine, thirty thousand Poles under Prince Poniatowski, twenty thousand Italians under Eugène, and twenty thousand Prussians. On the 22d of June Napoleon issued a proclamation to his soldiers, declaring, 'that the second war of Poland had begun. The fate of Russia must be fulfilled. Let us cross the Niemen, and carry the war into her own territory,' &c. On the 24th and 25th of June Napoleon's army, in three large masses, crossed the Niemen, and entered Lithuania without meeting with any opposition. The Russian army, under General Barclay de Tolli, one hundred and twenty thousand strong, evacuated Wilna, and retired to the banks of the Dwina. Another Russian army, eighty thousand strong, under Prince Bagration, was stationed near the Dnieper. On the 28th of June Napoleon entered Wilna, where he remained till the 16th of July. He there received a deputation from the diet of the duchy of Warsaw, entreating him to proclaim the union and independence of Poland. Napoleon's answer was still cold and cautious: he told them that he had guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria that part of Poland which he still retained; while for the rest they must depend chiefly on their own efforts.*

"In the mean time, the French soldiers treated Lithuania as an enemy's country. The provisions ordered by Napoleon to follow his army not having arrived, and the Russians having removed all their stores, the French and German soldiers went about marauding, plundering alike the mansions of the nobility and the huts of the peasants, feeding their horses on the green corn, insulting the women, and killing those who resented such treatment.† Lithuania, a poor and thinly inhabited country, which had suffered from the bad harvest of the preceding year (1811), was utterly devastated. At the same time, disorder and demoralization spread fearfully through the enormous masses of the invaders; disease thinned their ranks; twenty-five thousand patients were crowded within Wilna in a few weeks, where there was not accommodation for one-third of the number; heavy rains rendered the roads impassable, and ten thousand horses were lost.

"After partial engagements at Mohilow and Witepsk, the Russians continued their retreat upon Smolensk, in the interior of Russia. Thither Napoleon determined to follow them. 'Forward marches alone,' he observed, 'can keep such a vast army in its present condition together; to halt or retire would be the signal of dissolution. It is an army of attack, not of defence; an army

* De Pradt, *Ambassade de Pologne.* † Oginski and Segur.

of operation, not of position. We must advance upon Moscow, and strike a blow in order either to obtain peace, or resting quarters and supplies.'* He crossed the Dnieper, and entered Russia Proper with about one hundred and eighty thousand men, leaving a body of reserve at Wilna and the corps of Macdonald on the Dwina, towards Riga. In his march through Lithuania, no less than one hundred thousand men had dropped off from his ranks, and were either dead or sick, or had been taken prisoners by the Cossacks, or were straggling and marauding about the country.

"On the 16th of August the two hostile armies met under the walls of Smolensk. But the Russians, after carrying off or destroying their provisions, and allowing time to the inhabitants to retire, evacuated the place, which their rear-guard set on fire. They continued their retreat upon Moscow, whither Napoleon followed them. The battle of Borodino, near the banks of the river Moskwa, was fought on the 7th of September. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, one hundred and twenty thousand each. After a dreadful slaughter on both sides, the Russian general sounded a retreat, and the French were left in possession of the bloody field; but they scarcely took any prisoners or guns: fifteen thousand Russians and about ten thousand Frenchmen lay dead. Next day the Russian army continued its retreat; and on the 14th of September it passed through Moscow, which most of the inhabitants had already evacuated. The French entered the city on the same day, and found it deserted, except by the convicts and some of the lowest class, who lingered behind for the sake of plunder. On the evening of this day a fire broke out in the coachmakers' street, but it was put down in the night. The next day, 15th, Napoleon took up his residence in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the Tzars. On the following night the fire burst out again in different parts of the city, and no exertions of the French could stop it: the wind spread the flames in all quarters, and on the third day Napoleon was obliged to leave the Kremlin, where he incurred imminent danger. The fire raged till the 19th, when it abated, after destroying seven thousand six hundred and eighty-two houses, about four-fifths of the town. The conflagration has been attributed to a premeditated plan of the Russians; but Count Rostopchin, the governor, has positively denied this. 'Several individuals,' he says, 'set fire to their own houses, rather than leave them in possession of the invaders, and the French soldiers seeking for plunder, or for wine and spirits in the cellars, where they got intoxicated, did the rest.'†

"The markets of Moscow used to be supplied, not from the immediate neighbourhood, but from a considerable distance in the interior, and especially from the southern districts towards

* Segur.

† *La Vérité sur l'Incendie de Moscow*, par le Comte Rostopchin, Paris, 1823.

HE PAINTING BY HENRI SCHEFFER, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES. ENGRAVED BY C. A. POWEL

EUGÈNE DE BEAUHARNAIS, KNOWN AS PRINCE EUGÈNE.

Kaluga, where the Russian army was now posted. The French, therefore, could get no provisions, and they were obliged to live chiefly on the flesh of their horses, salted.

"Napoleon remained among the ruins of Moscow for five weeks. He had sent Lauriston to the Russian head-quarters with a letter for the Emperor Alexander, which was forwarded to Petersburg, but no answer was returned. Napoleon was evidently deceived in his calculations upon the temper of Alexander, and of the Russian people. On the 19th of October, seeing no chance of making peace, Napoleon began his retreat. The weather was fine, and moderately cold at this time. He attempted first to retire by Kaluga, where he expected to find provisions; but the stout resistance opposed to him at Malo Yaroslavetz induced him reluctantly to turn again to the road by Vareïa and Viazma to Smolensk, by which he had advanced. He was closely followed by the Russian army, but was more especially harassed by swarms of Cossacks under the hetman Platoff. His rear divisions had sharp engagements at Viazma and at the passage of the Wop.* His army dwindled away apace, through fatigue, privations, and the constant attacks of the Cossacks. It had left Moscow one hundred and twenty thousand strong, but was now reduced to one-half that number of fighting men: the rest formed a confused and disorderly mass in the rear, with an immense train of baggage and artillery. In this condition they were overtaken on the 6th of November by the Russian winter, which that year set in earlier than usual. The emaciated frames of soldiers and horses could not resist this fresh enemy, and they dropped by thousands on the road, where they were soon buried under the snow. The bitter frosty nights killed thousands more; but the winter only completed the destruction of the army, which had begun during the advance in the summer."

At last the French reached Smolensk, where they found their stores, which had come up so far. Many had not tasted a piece of bread or biscuit since they had advanced through that town three months before. On the 14th of November Napoleon left Smolensk with about forty thousand men able to carry arms; his rear divisions, so harassed by repeated attacks from the Russians, that when he arrived at Orcsa, in Lithuania, he had only twelve thousand men with arms in their hands, and of forty thousand horses there were scarcely three thousand left. In this plight he reached the banks of the Berezina, where he was joined by a corps of reserve of nearly fifty thousand men, under Victor and Oudinot. The passage of this river on the 26th and 27th of November cost him about one-half of his army thus reinforced. It was on the 3d of December that Napoleon arrived at Malodeczno, whence he issued the famous 29th bulletin, which came like a clap of thunder to awaken Europe. This time he told

* Gl' Italiani in Russia.

the whole truth in all its sternness: except the guards, indeed, he had no longer an army. At Smorgoni, where he arrived on the 5th of December, he took leave of his generals, left the command of the army, such as it was, to Murat, and set off in a sledge with Caulaincourt on his return to Paris. He arrived at Warsaw on the 10th, where he had that curious conversation with De Pradt, which the latter has so humorously related. Continuing his route, he passed through Dresden on the 14th, and arrived at Paris on the 18th of December, at night. The remains of his unfortunate army were collected by Murat on the line of the Vistula. In General Berthier's report, dated 16th of December, a dismal picture is given of the state of the troops after Napoleon left them: 'Plunder, insubordination, and disorganization, have reached the highest pitch.' The loss of the French and their auxiliaries in this campaign is reckoned by Boutourlin at one hundred and twenty-five thousand slain, one hundred and thirty-two thousand dead of fatigue, hunger, disease, and cold, and one hundred and ninety-three thousand prisoners, including three thousand officers and forty-eight generals. It is stated in the St. Petersburg Gazette that the bodies burnt in the spring after the thaw, in Russia Proper and Lithuania, amounted to three hundred and eight thousand, of which, of course, a considerable proportion were Russians. In the Berezina alone, and the adjoining marshes, thirty-six thousand dead bodies were said to have been found. The French left behind nine hundred pieces of cannon and twenty-five thousand waggons, cassoons, &c."*

In all the earlier stages of this fatal campaign, the plan of the Russians was very wisely one of retreat. They were, however, decidedly beaten in one or two of the great engagements they hazarded; but whether fighting in a general action, or, during their retreat, throwing off the different corps of their hot pursuers, the steadiness, the almost impenetrable phalanxes of the Russian infantry, excited universal admiration. We shall avail ourselves of information received from the Prince of Ischitella, who was then the Marquis Giuliano, and on the staff of Murat, King of Naples, whose particular favour and full confidence he enjoyed.

From the moment the French crossed the Niemen, Murat, as usual, led the van with his formidable cavalry. To defend themselves from his charges, the Russian infantry formed into squares, which the French never could break. The Russian infantry would sometimes make this stand two or three times in one day; falling back each time with coolness and precision, and without any confusion. Owing to the rapidity of Murat's advance, his heavier artillery could not keep up with him, and his lighter cannon seemed to produce hardly any impression on those masses of iron men. The Russian infantry withstood charge

* See article *Bonaparte*, in Cyclopædia, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

NAPOLEON LEAVING THE FRENCH ARMY AT SMORGONI

after charge—and the onslaughts of Murat were unparalleled for their vigour and fierceness, and yet he could never make the slightest impression upon the squares. The utmost that Murat could do now and then was to cut off a corner or angle of those masses of resolute men; but even partial advantages like these were never obtained by the gallant King of Naples without tremendous sacrifices.

Wherever there was a redoubt to defend, the Russian infantry accomplished it heroically. Even after their defeats at Witepsk and Smolensk, they made a most determined stand on the great and bloody field of Moskwa. One redoubt there, which was only defended by nine hundred men, cost the French an enormous price. In the words of Labaume, who was on the staff of Eugène Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, "We followed up the enemy through a wood, and, arriving at an open space, saw long columns of Russians defiling. These columns took up a position on an extensive plain on the summit of a hill about half a league distant, where, it was said, Prince Kutusoff had resolved to risk a decisive battle. On our right, we saw below us the abbey of Kolotskoï, the numerous towers of which gave it the appearance of a town. The coloured tiles, with which it was covered, reflecting the rays of the sun through the thick dust caused by our immense cavalry, served to heighten still more the gloomy and savage aspect which the whole surrounding country presented. Intending to arrest our progress here, the Russians had devastated in the most frightful manner the whole plain on which we were forced to encamp. The corn, though yet green, had been cut, the woods destroyed, and the villages burnt,in a word, we found no food for our horses, and no shelter for ourselves.

"We halted on a hill. During this time the centre of the army vigorously pursued the enemy, and obliged them to retire upon the eminence which they had intrenched. Till nearly two o'clock in the afternoon we remained inactive; when the viceroy, followed only by his staff, reconnoitred the approaches to the Russian position. He had scarcely commenced, when our dragoons, placed as sharpshooters, announced the approach of Napoleon. In a moment the name of the emperor passed from mouth to mouth, and every one awaited his arrival with the greatest impatience. He soon made his appearance, followed by his principal officers, and took his station on an eminence whence he could easily command the whole camp of the enemy. After having long and attentively regarded their position, and carefully observed all the adjacent country, he began to hum some insignificant tune. Having then conversed a moment with the viceroy, he mounted his horse, and proceeded to concert the plan of attack with the other generals.

"The viceroy now ordered the divisions of Delzons and

Broussier to advance: the Italian guard, which had been left in the rear, being placed in reserve. These two divisions had scarcely reached the eminence whence they could attack the Russians, when a brisk fire of musketry commenced on our right, between the sharpshooters of Gerard's division (third division, first corps) and those of the enemy. At first our troops advanced close to the ravine which separated us from the enemy, but superior numbers obliged them to retire.

"The Russians had a redoubt towards the right extremity of our army, the destructive fire of which carried consternation through the ranks. This redoubt had been constructed to strenghten their left wing, which was the weakest part of their intrenched camp. Napoleon understood this, and saw the necessity of taking that redoubt. The honour of the affair was confided to Compans's division (fourth division, first corps), and these gallant men advanced to the attack with an intrepidity which ensured the success of the enterprise. In the mean time, Prince Poniatowski manœuvred on our right with his cavalry, to turn the enemy's position; and when he was at a proper distance, Compans's division attacked the redoubt, and succeeded in carrying it after an hour's fighting. The Russians, completely routed, abandoned the neighbouring woods, and retreating in disorder towards the principal eminence, rejoined the centre of their army.

"The division of Compans, in proving itself worthy of the brilliant enterprise with which it had been intrusted, purchased that honour with considerable loss. The acquisition of this important position cost the lives of twelve hundred of our men, more than half of whom remained dead in the intrenchments which they had so gloriously carried. As Napoleon was on the following morning reviewing the 61st regiment, which had suffered most, he asked the colonel what he had done with one of his battalions? 'Sire,' replied he, '*it is in the redoubt.*'

"The possession of the redoubt did not in the least determine the success of the battle. Before the general engagement began, Napoleon wished to turn the left wing of the Russians; but foreseeing this manœuvre, they had placed the whole of the corps of Tutschkoff (the third) and the militia of Moscow in ambuscade behind the thick underwood which covered the extremity of their left; while the 2d, 4th, and 6th corps formed two lines of infantry in the rear, protected by the works which connected this grand redoubt with the wood. Our brave light troops recommenced the attack with redoubled vigour; and although the day was nearly closed, the fire on both sides continued with equal fury. At the same time, several villages on fire to the right spread around a frightful glare; which the cries of the combatants, and the flames which were vomited from a thousand brazen mouths, and which carried every where desolation and death, completed the horror of the scene. Our corps,

ranged in order of battle, received with intrepidity the fire of the enemy, and coolly closed ranks whenever a cannon-ball had knocked down any of our comrades.

"In the mean time, the night becoming darker and darker, caused as to slacken our fire without cooling our ardour; and our soldiers, uncertain of their aim, reserved their strength and ammunition for the morrow. Scarcely had we ceased firing, when the Russians, whose camp resembled an immense amphitheatre, lighted up numberless fires. The whole of that camp was one continuous blaze of light, which not only presented a grand and sublime aspect, but formed a striking contrast with our bivouac, where the men, unable to get any wood, reposed in utter darkness, with no sounds to cheer them, and listening only to the groans of the wounded and of the dying.

"Our head-quarters were established on the spot where the Italian guard was placed in reserve. Lying down in the underwood, we slept soundly after the fatigues of the day, in spite of an impetuous wind, and a very cold rain." "The next morning (the 6th of September), at daybreak, the viceroy ordered me to complete a plan of the ground, by inspecting all our line, and approaching the enemy as nearly as possible." "In executing my orders, I advanced, and discovered that the Russian camp was pitched beyond the river Kologha, upon a narrow eminence, and that its left was very much weakened by the loss of the redoubt on the preceding evening. In front of the camp, and opposite to us, was the village of Borodino, an excessively strong position,* situated at the confluence of a little rivulet, with the Kologha. Upon this eminence were two grand redoubts about two hundred toises from each other; that on the right had fired on us the evening before; that on the left was built on the ruins of a village which they had destroyed for this purpose. The latter redoubt communicated with Borodino by three bridges constructed upon the Kologha. This village, and the rivulet which was in front, constituted the first line of the enemy's fortification.

"The Italian cavalry had crossed the rivulet of Borodino at the extremity of our left; but the village situated on an eminence, was defended by a numerous corps of Russian troops. All this ground was exposed to the fire of their grand redoubts, as well as that of several smaller masked batteries along the river. The enemy was perfectly aware that our success on

* Napoleon said in his bulletin, "The viceroy who formed our left, attacked and took the village of Borodino, which the enemy could not defend." Prince Kutusoff, on the contrary, wrote to Alexander, "The position which I have chosen in the village of Borodino, is one of the best that can be found in a flat country. It is to be wished that the French would attack us in this position." We made the assault, and the village was so well defended, that General Plausanne, and Colonel Demay of the artillery, officers of our corps, were killed in the commencement of the action. The Russians have given to this bloody day the name of the *Battle of Borodino.—Labaume.*

the preceding evening had enabled us to cross the Kologha on the right, and push forward the greater part of our troops to the rear of the eminence on which their principal redoubt was placed.

"We passed the rest of the day in reconnoitring the position of the Russians. General Danthouard caused the redoubts which were placed too much in the rear, to be reconstructed; and on the left some epaulments were thrown up, where cannon might be placed in battery. In fact, all was prepared for a decisive engagement, when, towards evening, the emperor sent a proclamation to the chiefs of the corps, with orders not to read it to the soldiers till the next day, should they then come to action; for although the position was both advantageous and strong, the enemy had so often declined giving battle, that it was to be feared they would again act as they had done at Witepsk and Volontina. Here, however, our rapid marches, and the distance of our reserves, had equalized the forces of the opposite parties, and the Russians were forced to come to action, if they wished to save Moscow, from which we were distant not more than twenty-six leagues. In addition to this, the fatigue of our soldiers, and the worn-out condition of our horses, seemed to promise the Russians an easy victory. We, on the other hand, were quite certain that we must either conquer or perish." "Although, exhausted with hard work, we felt the want of sleep, there were many among us so enamoured of glory, and so sure of success on the morrow, that they could not sleep. Suddenly, before daybreak, the drums beat, the officers cried to arms, the soldiers ran to their stations, and we all awaited the signal for the onslaught. The colonels placing themselves in the centre of their regiments, ordered the trumpets to sound, and every captain, surrounded by his company, read aloud the following address of Napoleon:

"Soldiers! This is the battle you have so much desired. The victory depends upon you! It is now *necessary to us*. It will give us abundance of good winter-quarters, and a prompt return to our country. Behave as at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, at Smolensk, and let the latest posterity recount with pride your conduct on this day; let them say of you, 'He was at the great battle under the walls of Moscow.'"

The positive truths contained in these short and energetic words had a great effect, and the French were most eager for the combat. Labaume continues—

"Such were the feelings of the army, when a radiant sun, bursting from the thickest fog, shone on many of us for the last time. It is reported, that at this sight Napoleon exclaimed to those around him, 'Behold the sun of Austerlitz!' The army hailed the happy presage, and was electrified by the glorious recollection.

"The grand manœuvres which the first and fifth corps, commanded by the Prince of Eckmuhl, made at the extremities of our right, clearly proved that the decisive combat was about to commence. The armies were in sight of each other, the cannoneers at their pieces, and all awaited, in anxious silence the signal of attack. At length (7th September), at six o'clock precisely, the firing of a cannon from our principal battery announced that we were engaged. One hundred and twenty pieces of artillery placed on our right answered the signal. General Pernetti placed himself at the head of the division of Compans, with a battery of thirty pieces, and forcing his way through the wood, turned the intrenchments of the enemy. At half-past six General Compans was wounded, and at seven the Prince of Eckmuhl had his horse killed under him. The Duke of Elchingen likewise advanced, and protected by sixty cannon which General Fouché had placed in battery on the preceding evening, attacked the centre of the Russian army. He was supported by all the horse of Latour-Maubourg, which charged the masses of the Russians, who were formed into squares around the grand redoubt. At the same time the division of Delzons advanced upon the village of Borodino, to which the Russians had already set fire. Our men then crossed the rivulet, reached the village, and, after hard work, carried it at the point of the bayonet."

In checking an absurd advance made by the French soldiers from Borodino, General Plausanne was hit in the middle of the body by a ball. At this point of the combat, or shortly after, Kutusoff thought all was lost, but he made another desperate effort to maintain the cause of his country, and his military reputation, which last was based on the service of half a century.

"He renewed the combat, and attacked with all his forces the strong positions which had just been carried. Three hundred pieces of cannon arranged on these heights spread devastation and death among his ranks, and his disheartened soldiery perished at the feet of those ramparts which they had themselves raised, and which they regarded as the bulwark of Moscow, their venerable and sacred city.

"The 30th regiment, attacked on every side, was unable to keep the redoubt which it had carried, not being supported by the third division, which was scarcely yet drawn up in order of battle. This gallant regiment, commanded by General Bonami, was therefore constrained to yield to the superior force which overwhelmed it, and rejoined its division with the loss of its general. That division, with General Gerard's, continued to maintain itself on the hill, and to withstand the utmost efforts of the Russians.

"The enemy, encouraged by the success he had just obtained, brought forward his reserve, with the hope of striking a decisive blow. It was partly composed of the imperial guard. Having

concentrated all his forces, he attacked our centre, on which our right had now wheeled. For a moment we feared that our lines would have been broken, and that we should have lost the redoubt we had gained the preceding evening. Our troops however, approached the intrenchments of the enemy, when a sudden discharge of grape-shot from the whole of the Russian artillery spread ruin and terror through our ranks."

The French troops were now wellnigh falling back, but the presence of mind of Eugène Beauharnais kept them tolerably steady. The next movement was a brilliant charge of Napoleon's cuirassiers. Labaume continues—

"At this instant a division of cuirassiers, from the centre of the army, rushed on the redoubt, and offered to our astonished sight a grand and sublime spectacle. The whole eminence which overhung us appeared in an instant a mass of moving iron: the glitter of the arms, and the rays of the sun, reflected from the helmets and cuirasses of the dragoons, mingled with the flames of the cannon that on every side vomited forth death, gave to the redoubts the appearance of a volcano in the midst of the army.

"The enemy's infantry, placed near this point, behind a ravine, kept up so destructive a fire on our cuirassiers, that they were obliged immediately to retire. Our infantry took their place. They were supported by the third corps of cavalry commanded by Generals Chastel, Thiry, and Dommanget, who charged and overthrew every thing which it found in its way. The aides-de-camp Carbonel, Turenne, and Grammont, were wounded at the side of Count Grouchy. The general himself was struck soon afterwards; but the redoubt was in our possession. In forcing the intrenchments, our troops made a horrible massacre of the Russians, whose efforts to retain the redoubt rivalled ours to carry it.

"In spite of the enemy's tremendous fire, the viceroy and his staff remained at the head of Broussier's division, followed by the 13th and 30th regiments, and rushing on the redoubt, entered it by the breastwork, and massacred on their pieces the cannoneers that served them. Prince Kutusoff, astonished at this attack, immediately ordered the cuirassiers of the guard to advance and endeavour to retake the position. These were the best of their cavalry. The shock between their cuirassiers and ours was therefore terrible; and one may judge of the fury with which both parties fought, when the enemy, in quitting the field, left it completely covered with dead.

"The interior of the redoubt presented a horrid spectacle. The dead were heaped on one another. The feeble cries of the wounded were scarcely heard amid the surrounding tumult. Arms of every description were scattered over the field of battle. The parapets half demolished had their embrasures entirely destroyed. Their places were distinguished only by the cannon, the greatest part of which were dismounted and separated from

the broken carriages. In the midst of this scene of carnage, I discovered the body of a Russian cannoneer decorated with three crosses. In one hand he held a broken sword, and with the other firmly grasped the carriage of the gun at which he had so valiantly fought.

"All the Russian soldiers in the redoubt chose rather to perish than to yield. The general who commanded them would have perished also if his valour had not saved his life. That brave man had sworn to die at his post, and he would have kept his oath. Seeing all his companions lying dead around him, he endeavoured to throw himself on our swords, and he would inevitably have met his death, had not the honour of taking such a prisoner arrested the cruelty of the soldiers. The viceroy received him with kindness, and caused him to be conducted to Napoleon, who, throughout this memorable day, remained constantly in the rear of the centre, and executed some grand manœuvres with the first corps and the Poles on the extremity of the right."

Bagration resisted all the attempts made by the French and Poles on his left, and being reinforced by Strogonoff, and Woronzow's grenadiers, drove back the Poles with considerable loss: Ney then went to the support of the Poles with a corps of Westphalians, and the divisions of Ledru, Morand, and Gerard coming up, they all attacked together; at the same moment Prince Eugène brought up his tremendous parks of artillery, and advancing, penetrated into the very centre of the Russian lines. These movements ensured the victory. Labaume continues—

"Prince Eugène's attention had been wholly taken up by the centre, when it was recalled to his left by a grand movement of cavalry directed by the Russians on that point. This obliged General Delzons to form his brigade into a square on the left of Borodino. He was several times attacked; but the enemy seeing that no impression could be made on him, advanced to the extremity of our left, and commenced a brisk attack on our light cavalry commanded by Count Ornano, which were for a moment thrown into disorder. The prince, who happened to be on the spot, threw himself into the middle of a square formed by the 84th, and prepared to set it in motion, when the Cossacks were in their turn repulsed, and taking to flight, disengaged our left. Every thing was then restored to the greatest order.

"The prince was found on all points, exhorting every officer to do his duty, and reminding him, that on this day depended the glory of France. He was seen at all the batteries, causing them to advance in proportion as the enemy gave way; and, braving every peril, he himself instructed the cannoneers how to direct their fire. His aide-de-camp, Maurice Mejean, who had been present at every post of danger from the beginning of the day, now received a wound in the thigh; while General Gifflinga and the

equerry Bellisomi had their horses killed under them. His highness had at one time placed himself on the parapet of the grand redoubt, surrounded by his officers, and thence remarked from the embrasures all the movements of the enemy, paying no attention to the bullets which frequently whistled near him. Among the persons who composed his suite was Colonel de Bourmont, whose great merit was only equalled by his rare modesty. He had dismounted with the other officers, and was leaning on the pommel of his saddle, when General Guilleminot letting a paper fall, the colonel stooped to pick it up. That motion saved his life, for at that very instant a cannon-ball passed through the breast of his horse.

"Although we had taken two redoubts, the enemy had still a third, situated on another eminence, and separated by a ravine. Thence served, they kept up an incessant fire on our regiments, some of which were sheltered by a wood, and others were behind the grand redoubt. We remained several hours in this state of inaction, convinced that Kutusoff was preparing to retreat. The artillery alone vomited from every side flames and death. At this period General Houard was killed by a grape-shot, while commanding the second brigade of the thirteenth division. He was companion in arms to General Plausanne, and they perished on the same day. United in their lives, they were not separated in death; for they were both interred in that field which had witnessed their gallantry."

For ten hours the French had to sustain the murderous attacks of the Russians, and even before the battle was finished, there was not a corps but had lost one or more of its chiefs. It would require a long list to enumerate even the generals who fell. Among them were Montbrun, Augustus Caulaincourt, Compère, Marion, and Lepel. Besides these, thirty generals were wounded: in the latter number were Grouchy, Nansouty, Latour-Maubourg, Friant, Rapp, Compans, Desaix, and Lahoussage.

The Russians lost about forty thousand men, and fifty generals killed or wounded. Among the last were the Prince Bagration, who died a few days after, Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, and the Generals Tutschoff, Rejewsky, Gotschakoff, Kanoveritzen, Gregoff, Woronzow, Krapowilski, and the two Boehmetieffs.

The troops engaged were nearly equal in number, each army being about one hundred and thirty thousand strong. The loss of the French, who were more exposed than the Russians, seeing that the latter fought in an intrenched position, has been estimated as high as fifty thousand men. The French fired ninety thousand cannon, and the soldiers who had been supplied with one hundred cartridges each, expended them all. Twenty-five thousand horses were either burnt or buried on the field of battle!

The result of this carnage was, that the Russians maintained their right wing and only lost a little ground with their left. The French occupied that little ground after sustaining a heavy cannonade, and during the night the Russians retreated in the finest order. In the words of Labaume—

"Although the victory was ours, the cannon roared with unabated fury, and continued to overwhelm new victims. The viceroy, ever indefatigable and unmindful of danger, was on every part of the field of battle, exposed to a shower of grape-shot and bullets. The firing still continued, and in the evening it was so briskly maintained, that the legion of the Vistula, commanded by General Claparède was forced to kneel down behind the grand redoubt. We remained more than an hour in this uncomfortable position. The enemy was then more quiet, and only fired a few shots at intervals, while the silence of the last redoubt, gave us reason to believe that the Russians were preparing to retreat on the road to Mojaïsk.

"The weather, which had been very fine during the day, became, towards evening, stormy, cold, and damp. The whole army bivouacked on the ground it had gained. This encampment was most painful: neither our men nor our horses had any thing to eat, and thus the pangs of hunger were added to those of cold.

"The next day, the 8th of September, at an early hour, we surveyed the field of battle. What was only fancied the preceding evening had actually taken place. The enemy, seeing the intrepidity with which we carried their redoubts, despaired of maintaining their position, and resolved to evacuate it during the night. As we passed over the ground which they had occupied, we were enabled to judge of the immense loss that the Russians had sustained. In the space of a square league, almost every spot was covered with the killed or wounded. On many places the bursting of the shells had promiscuously heaped together men and horses. The fire of our howitzers had been so destructive that mountains of dead bodies were scattered over the plain; and the few places that were not encumbered with the slain were covered with broken lances, muskets, helmets, and cuirasses, or with grape-shot and bullets, as numerous as hailstones after a violent storm. But the most horrid spectacle was the interior of the ravines; almost all the wounded who were able to drag themselves along had taken refuge there to avoid the shot. These miserable wretches, heaped one upon another, and almost suffocated with blood, uttering the most dreadful groans, and invoking death with piercing cries, eagerly besought us to put an end to their torments. We had no means to relieve them, and could only deplore the calamities inseparable from a war so atrocious.

"While the cavalry pursued the enemy, the viceroy ordered his engineers to destroy the redoubt; and, as the fourth corps

remained encamped on the field of battle, it was presumed we should pass the night there. His highness had also ordered his suite to establish themselves in the church of Borodino, the only building that had escaped the flames; but it was filled with the wounded, and the surgeons were employed in dressing and amputating. The staff of the prince then proceeded to establish their quarters in the village of Novoe, on the banks of the Kologha, near the road to Mojaïsk."

On the following day, as Labaume approached the town of Mojaïsk, he saw it enveloped in flames. The inhabitants had set fire to their houses and then fled. These frequent conflagrations, and the determined spirit of the people ought to have prepared Bonaparte for what he had to expect at Moscow, but he obstinately shut his eyes to all that was contrary to his wishes. Labaume continues—

"Pursuing our route through thick underwood and briers, we arrived at a large village, called Vrouinkovo, where we understood the head-quarters were to be established. On entering it, we saw on an eminence at a distance some very neat houses, and four steeples elegantly constructed. We were about to halt at this village where abundance seemed to reign, when it was announced that the fourth corps was to proceed to a town of the name of Rouza, the steeples of which were plainly perceived. When we left Vrouinkovo we met a great number of peasants with carts loaded with the most valuable furniture and property. A sight so new excited our astonishment, and asking Colonel Asselin what could be the reason of this singular assemblage, he answered me as follows:

"'In proportion as our armies advanced into the interior of Russia, the Emperor Alexander, seconding the wishes of the nobility, and following the example of Spain, endeavoured to make this a national war. Accordingly the nobility and the priests have by persuasions and by bribes induced all the peasants who were dependent upon them to rise *en masse* against us. Of the numerous districts which have adhered to this system of defence, that of Rouza has shown itself the most zealous. The whole population, animated by their seigneur who had declared himself the chief of the insurrection, was properly organized, and ready to join the Russian army, as soon as they should receive the necessary orders.'

"'As Rouza was at a distance of five or six leagues from the high road, the inhabitants had flattered themselves that we should not pass through their town, and had consequently remained secure and tranquil. What was their surprise, or rather their terror,' continued the colonel, 'when I was sent by the viceroy, and presented myself with a dozen of Bavarian light horse before the town! The dismayed peasants rushed from their houses, hastily harnessed their horses to the carts which you now see, and fled with the utmost precipitation.'

"'The men, however, who had been enrolled for the levy, collected at the voice of their lord, and armed with poles, lances, and scythes, assembled in the square, and immediately advanced towards us; but this timid populace could not resist a few soldiers accustomed to battle, and presently took to flight. The chief alone evinced more firmness. He awaited us on the square, and armed with a poniard, menaced all who summoned him to surrender. "*How can I survive the dishonour of my country?*" cried he, foaming with rage. "*Our altars are no more! Our empire is disgraced! Take my life—it is odious to me!*" We wished to calm him, and endeavoured to wrench his poniard from him: but he became more furious, and wounded several of our soldiers, who then, listening only to revenge, killed him with repeated stabs of the bayonet.'

"'This was scarcely effected when the advanced-guard of the fourth corps entered Rouza. On my reciting what had happened,' continued the colonel, 'they immediately pursued the peasants who had fled with their effects and their cattle. They soon came up with them, and those whom you see here are part of the fugitives escaped from Rouza. Go into the town,' added he, 'and you will see many more of them.'

"As we approached the town, we saw a great number of these carts brought back by the dragoons. It was an affecting spectacle. These vehicles were loaded with children and old people. The heart was pierced with grief to think how soon our soldiers should divide among them the carts and horses which constituted the sole fortunes of these disconsolate families.'

"At length we entered Rouza; and as we advanced to the very centre of the town, we saw in every street, a crowd of soldiers pillaging the houses, unmindful of the cries of the inhabitants, or the tears of the mothers, who, to soften the hearts of the conquerors, presented their children on their knees, bathed in tears, and distractedly wringing their hands, these interesting creatures begged only for their lives, and those of their babes."

After the battle of the Moskwa or Borodino, the French army marched in three columns on Moscow. It did not, however, advance with the rapidity of a triumphant army; for the distance between Borodino and Moscow is only about seventy-five miles, and the French did not enter that old capital till nine days after the battle. Napoleon was wavering and undecided, and General the Count de Segur, who attributes many of the errors of this campaign to ill health, says he was sick at the time. "The premature inclemency of autumn was singularly propitious to the Russian empire. On the 7th of September, the eve of the great battle, a hurricane announced its fatal presence. It chilled and froze Napoleon. From the night that preceded this decisive combat, it has been seen that a fever fired his blood, and confused his mind, and he was worn down by this fever during the battle. These sufferings checked his steps

and enchained his genius during the five days which followed, and thus Kutusoff was allowed time to rally his army, and entirely withdraw it from our pursuit. Napoleon remained three whole days at Mojaïsk, shut up in his bedroom, consumed by a burning fever, exhausted with business, and devoured by anxieties. By a violent cold he had lost the use of his speech. Forced to dictate to seven persons at once, and not being able to make himself heard, he wrote the heads of his despatches on different slips of paper. If any difficulties arose, he explained himself by signs.

"There was a moment on which Bessières enumerated to him all the generals that had been killed and wounded on the day of battle. This fatal nomenclature was so poignant to him, that, by a violent effort, he recovered his voice, and interrupted the marshal with this coarse and hasty exclamation: "Let us have eight days at Moscow, and the loss will not be thought of."*

Before entering Moscow, Murat made an unnecessary attack on a Russian column stationed in a strong position near Krymskoie, and rashly threw away the lives of two thousand of his men there. Marshal Mortier who had endeavoured to dissuade Murat from making the attack, was furious when he saw its result, and he wrote to the emperor to declare that he would no longer obey the orders of the King of Naples. This was far from being the only violent quarrel between the military chiefs during the ill-fated campaign of Moscow.

The Count de Segur's description of Napoleon's approach and entrance into old Moscow is exceedingly striking:

"He had too many things to think about to be able to indulge long in his feelings. His first exclamation was, 'Well, there it is at last, that famous city!' His second, 'It is high time!' Already, his eyes, fixed on that capital, expressed eager impatience: in it he fancied he saw all the Russian empire. Those walls enclosed all his hope, peace, the expenses of the war, an immortal glory: and thus his greedy glances were riveted on all its gates. When will those gates open? When will he see the deputation that shall offer him the riches, the population of Moscow, its senate, and the principal Russian nobility? By so fortunate a termination to the enterprise he had engaged in with such audacious temerity, his imprudence would acquire the name of grandeur, and be considered only as a proof of a far-sighted calculation, secure of its result. From that moment the incomplete victory of the Moskwa would be reckoned his finest action. Thus every thing which might have proved his ruin, would become his glory. The day was about to commence which would decide whether he was the greatest or the rashest man in the world; whether he had raised himself an altar, or dug for himself a grave.

"In the mean time he began to feel very uneasy. Already on

* Histoire de Napoleon et de la Grande Armée, pendant l'Année 1812.

his right and left he saw Prince Eugène and Poniatowski pouncing on the hostile city: before him Murat had reached in the midst of his *eclaireurs* the entrance of the suburbs, and yet no deputation appeared; a single officer of Miloradowitch only came to declare that that general would set fire to the town, if time was not allowed for his rear-guard to evacuate it.

"Napoleon granted every thing. For some moments the first troops of the two armies were intermingled. Murat was recognised by the Cossacks: with the familiarity of the wandering tribes of the North, and ardent as the nations of the South, they pressed around him: then by their gestures and cries, they extolled his bravery and intoxicated him by their admiration. The king took the watches of his officers, and distributed them amongst these yet barbarous warriors. One of them called him their hetman.

"For a moment, Murat was tempted to think he might find among these officers a new Mazeppa, that he might be one himself: he thought he had gained them over. On such an occasion, this moment of truce kept up the hopes of Napoleon, so necessary was it for him to delude himself. He was amused by it during two hours.

"In the mean time the day was wasting, and Moscow remained gloomy, silent, and as it were, without life. The anxiety of the emperor increased: the impatience of the soldiers became more difficult of restraint. A few officers at length penetrated into the city. 'Moscow was deserted!'

"At this sad news, which he received with evident irritation, and affected to disbelieve, Napoleon descended from the mountain called 'Of-Health,' and rode on to the Moskowa and Dorogomilow-gate. He again stopped at the entrance of that barrier. Murat pressed him to proceed. 'Well,' replied he, 'enter, then, as they will have it so.' He recommended the strictest discipline, and still hoped the best. 'Perhaps,' said he, 'these inhabitants do not understand the forms of a surrender; for here every thing is new—they are new to us, and we to them!'

"Report now succeeded to report, and all accounts agreed. Some French inhabitants of Moscow, venturing to quit their hiding-places, where during several days they had concealed themselves from the fury of the Russian populace, came out of the town and confirmed the fatal news. The emperor summoned Daru, and exclaimed, 'Moscow deserted! What an improbable event! We must enter. Go and bring me the boyards.' He thought that those noblemen, either stiffened by pride, or paralyzed by terror, would remain immovable in their homes. And how, in effect, was it possible to persuade oneself that so many sumptuous palaces, so many magnificent churches, so many rich counting-houses, had been abandoned by their possessors, just like the poor hamlets and wood huts we had just marched by? Meanwhile, however, Daru failed in his mission. Not a single

Russian presented himself; no household chimney was seen to smoke, not the least noise was heard in that immense and populous city: it seemed as if its three hundred thousand inhabitants had been suddenly struck by a mute and motionless enchantment: it was the silence of the desert!

"Such, however, was the obstinacy of Napoleon that he still indulged in his expectations, and waited for a Russian deputation. At last an officer determined to please him, and probably impressed with the notion that whatever the emperor willed, ought to be accomplished, entered into the city, seized five or six vagabonds, and drove them before his horse to the emperor's presence. He fancied he had conducted a deputation, but at the first answer of those poor wretches, Napoleon perceived that he had only a few miserable journeymen before him.

"Then, and not before, he was convinced of the entire evacuation of Moscow, and lost all the hopes he had founded upon that city. He shrugged his shoulders, and said with that air of scorn which he usually threw on whatsoever opposed his desires, 'Ah! the Russians do not yet know the effect which will be produced upon them by my taking their capital!'

"Napoleon did not enter into Moscow until nightfall. He took up his residence in one of the best houses of the town, but every thing continued silent and desolate around him. In the dead of night, a fire broke out in the Marchand palace, in the very centre of the city, and a Russian police officer informed the emperor, that a regular plan and preparations were made for the burning of all Moscow to the ground. Napoleon could not sleep that night; he was feverish and much agitated. As soon as day dawned, he ran to the fire, where he abused the young guard and the Marshal Mortier for their negligence. The conflagration had spread; dense volumes of smoke were seen issuing from fire-proof houses into which the incendiaries had penetrated. He turned away with a thoughtful air, and entered the imperial palace of the Kremlin. There his spirit revived; his ambition was flattered by that conquest, and he was heard to exclaim, 'I am then at last in Moscow, in the ancient palace of the Czars, in the Kremlin!' He then examined all the details of the vast edifice with an inquisitive and satisfied pride.

"During this day, Mortier succeeded to a considerable extent in checking the progress of the fire, but the darkness of night favoured the operations of the incendiaries, and the French troops, exhausted by the long exertions they had made, became sleepy and careless. Even some of their superior officers, only looked to the preservation of those particular parts of the town where their respective corps were stationed.

"Two officers had established themselves in an apartment of the Kremlin which commanded a view of all the north and west of Moscow. About midnight they were awakened by an extraordinary blaze of light. They looked out, and saw palace after palace taking fire, and that, driven by a strong north wind, the

flames were approaching the Kremlin, within whose walls reposed the *élite* of their army, and its mighty chief Napoleon. Sparks of fire, and fragments of burning matter had already begun to fly round the roofs of the Kremlin, when the wind suddenly changing from north to west, drove them in a different direction.

"In the mean time, however, a glare of horrid light burst from other quarters of the town; other flames approached the Kremlin, where the officers cursed the imprudence and the want of discipline among the French soldiery, for it was long believed that these were the causes of the disaster. But three times the wind changed, and three times those avenging flames were driven from the imperial quarters when their destruction appeared inevitable.

"At this sight, a fearful suspicion seized us. The Muscovites knowing our temerity and carelessness, have probably conceived the hope of burning with Moscow, our soldiers drunk with wine and sleep; or rather, have they dared to believe that they will envelop Napoleon in this catastrophe—that the death of that man is worth the loss of their capital—that such a result will be great enough to compensate for the entire destruction of Moscow—that Heaven, perhaps, in order to accord them so great a victory, demands as great a sacrifice—and that, finally, that immense Colossus requires as immense a funeral pyre?

"It is not positively known whether they entertained these thoughts, but nothing except the star of Napoleon could have saved us from their realization. In fact, not only did the Kremlin contain a powder magazine, then unknown to us, but there was a whole park of artillery which the careless soldiers had left unprotected close to the windows of the emperor's apartments.

"At this moment the furious flames darted from all sides—the wind increased, and sparks flew thickly round the Kremlin. The flower of our army and the emperor would have been lost, had only one of those sparks that flew over our heads, descended on one of our powder waggons! We were in this state of anxiety during several hours. At last the day, a day of gloom and desolation, dawned; it seemed to increase the grand horror, to pale it, to deprive it of its glare. A vast number of officers took refuge in the halls of the palace. The chiefs and Mortier himself, conquered by the fire they had been fighting with for thirty-six hours, came there to drop down from exhaustion and despair. They were silent, and we accused ourselves—we looked upon ourselves with a sort of disgust. The cry of horror that Europe would soon utter, terrified us. We approached one another with downcast eyes, in consternation at so frightful a catastrophe: it sullied our glory, it snatched the fruits of victory from us, it threatened our existence present and to come. We were no longer any thing but an army of criminals, upon whom

God and the civilized world would execute justice. We were only in part relieved from these agonizing thoughts by receiving reports from all sides that it was the Russians themselves who burned Moscow by order of their government. Instructions were then issued for the arrest and instant execution of all incendiaries, but it was too late. The army was presently a-foot. The old guard, that occupied one part of the Kremlin, got under arms; baggage-waggons and loaded horses filled all the courts of the palace; we were sad at heart, and overcome with despair at seeing so excellent a cantonment destined to perish. Masters of Moscow, we were obliged to go and bivouac, without provisions, beyond its gates.

"Napoleon was now walking up and down his apartment with hurried, irregular steps. His short and vehement gestures revealed the trouble of his soul. He had important and pressing work to do, but he quitted it, began again, and then again quitted it, to rush to the windows and contemplate the progress of the conflagration. Sudden and brief expressions escaped from his oppressed breast. 'What a frightful spectacle! It is their own doing! So many palaces! What extraordinary resolution! What men! These are your true Scythians!'

"At this moment the voice spread that the Kremlin was undermined. The Russians have asserted this, and several writings attest the fact. Some of the emperor's servants lost their senses through affright; the old soldiers passively awaited for Napoleon's orders; and the only answer Napoleon gave to the alarm was a smile of incredulity.

"He continued nevertheless to walk up and down convulsively, and then to stop at every window to gaze on the all-conquering element that was drawing more and more closely round the Kremlin.

"Already the air we breathed was charged with smoke and ashes. Night approached, and would add her shades to our dangers; the equinoctial wind, in alliance with the Russians, redoubled its violence. Then we saw the King of Naples and the Prince Eugène run hastily through the palace, and being joined by the Prince of Neufchâtel, they penetrated into the emperor's apartment, where, with prayers, with gesticulations, and on their knees, they implored him to leave that place of desolation. It was all in vain. He was master of the palace of the czars, and he seemed resolved to dispute possession of that proud conquest even with that conflagration, when, all at once, the cry was heard, 'The Kremlin is on fire!' The emperor went out to judge of the danger. Twice had the fire been lit and extinguished in the part of the building he occupied; but the tower of the arsenal was still in flames: a soldier of the Russian police had just been found there. He was carried before Napoleon and examined. That Russian was the incendiary of the palace: he had executed orders given him by his

chief. Thus every thing was devoted to destruction, not even excepting the ancient and sacred Kremlin. The emperor made a gesture expressive of scorn and ill-humour; they carried out the unfortunate wretch to the first court, where the furious grenadiers destroyed him with their bayonets.

"This incident decided Napoleon. He rapidly descended the great northern staircase, so famous for the massacre of the Strelitz in the time of Peter the Great, and ordered that he should be guided out of the town, about a league on the Petersburg road, towards the imperial chateau of Petrowski."*

It was not without running extreme risk that Bonaparte and his followers escaped from Moscow. At one of the most perilous passes, Davoust, who had been badly wounded in the battle of Moskowa, caused himself to be carried into the midst of the burning houses to rescue Napoleon, or to perish with him. When he found him, he threw himself into his arms with a transport of joy. The emperor received him well, but with that perfect calmness which never quitted him in moments of danger. Shortly after this meeting Napoleon had to pass a long train of powder-waggons that were defiling through the streets of the burning city: this was not the least of his dangers, but it was the last, and without any material injury to his person, he arrived at Petrowski at nightfall.

The Count de Segur's narrative of the burning of Moscow is horrible, and yet there are many traits of atrocity and wretchedness which he has omitted to relate. The following quotations from Labaume will supply some deficiencies:

"The most heart-rending scene which my imagination had ever conceived, far surpassing the saddest story in ancient or modern history, now presented itself to my eyes. A part of the population of Moscow, terrified at our arrival, had concealed themselves in cellars or secret recesses of their houses. As the fire spread around, we saw them rushing in despair from their various asylums. They uttered no imprecation, they breathed no complaint; fear had rendered them dumb; and hastily snatching up their most precious effects, they fled before the flames. Others, of greater sensibility, and actuated by the genuine feelings of nature, saved only their parents, or their infants, who were closely clasped in their arms. They were followed by their other children, running as fast as their little strength would permit, and with all the wildness of childish terror, vociferating the beloved name of mother. The old people, borne down by grief more than by age, had not sufficient power to follow their families, and expired near the houses in which they were born. The streets, the public places, and particularly the churches, were filled with these unhappy people, who,

* Segur. Hist. de Napoleon et de la Grand Armée, vol. ii.

lying on the remains of their property, suffered even without a murmur. No cry, no complaint was heard. Both the conqueror and the conquered were equally hardened; the one by excess of fortune, the other by excess of misery.

"The ravages of the uncontrollable fire soon reached the finest parts of the city. Those palaces which we had admired for the beauty of their architecture, and the elegance of their furniture, were enveloped in flames. Their magnificent fronts, ornamented with bas-reliefs and statues, fell with a dreadful crash on the fragments of the pillars which had supported them. The churches, though covered with iron and lead, were likewise destroyed, and with them those beautiful steeples, which we had seen the night before, resplendent with gold and silver. The hospitals, too, which contained more than twelve thousand wounded, soon began to burn. This offered a harrowing spectacle. Almost all these poor wretches perished. A few who still lingered, were seen crawling half burnt amongst the smoking ruins; and others, groaning under heaps of dead bodies, endeavoured in vain to extricate themselves from the horrible destruction which surrounded them.

"How shall I describe the confusion and tumult when permission was granted to pillage this immense city! Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and prostitutes, eagerly ran through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and carrying away every thing which could gratify their avarice. Some covered themselves with stuffs, richly worked with gold and silk; some were enveloped in beautiful and costly furs; while others dressed themselves in women's and children's pelisses, and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under the most splendid habits of the court. The rest crowded into the cellars, and, forcing open the doors, drank to excess the most luscious wines, and carried off an immense booty.

"This horrible pillage was not confined to the deserted houses alone, but extended to those which were inhabited, and soon the eagerness and wantonness of the plunderers, caused devastations which almost equalled those occasioned by the conflagration. Every asylum was violated by the licentious troops.

"Towards evening, when Napoleon no longer thought himself safe in a city, the ruin of which seemed inevitable, he left the Kremlin, and established himself with his suite in the castle of Petrowsky. When I saw him pass by, I could not behold without abhorrence the chief of a barbarous expedition, who evidently endeavoured to escape the decided testimony of public indignation, by seeking the darkest road. He sought it, however, in vain. On every side the flames seemed to pursue him, and their horrible and mournful glare, flashing on his guilty head, reminded me of the torches of Eumenides pursuing the destined victims of the Furies!

"The generals likewise received orders to quit Moscow. Licentiousness then became unbounded. The soldiers, no longer restrained by the presence of their chiefs, committed every kind of excess. No retreat was safe, no place sufficiently sacred to afford protection against their rapacity. Nothing more fully excited their avarice than the church of Saint Michael, the sepulchre of the Russian emperors. An erroneous tradition had propagated the belief that it contained immense riches. Some grenadiers presently entered it, and descended with torches into the vast subterranean vaults, to disturb the peace and silence of the tomb. But instead of treasures they found only stone coffins, covered with pink velvet, and bearing a thin silver plate, on which were engraved the names of the czars, and the dates of their birth and decease. Mortified at the disappointment of their hopes, they searched the very coffins, and seized every offering which had been consecrated by piety, and chiefly valuable on account of the sentiments which had caused the offering. With all their excesses of plunder, they mingled the most degrading and horrible debauchery. Neither nobility of blood, nor the innocence of youth, nor the tears of beauty, were respected. The licentiousness was cruel and boundless; but it was inevitable in a savage war, in which sixteen different nations, opposite in their manners and their language, thought themselves at liberty to commit every crime.

"Penetrated by so many calamities, I hoped that the shades of night would cast a veil over the dreadful scene, but they contributed, on the contrary, to render the conflagration more terrible. The violence of the flames, which were strangely agitated by the wind, produced the most awful appearance on a sky which was darkened by the thickest smoke. Frequently was seen the glare of the burning torches, which the incendiaries were hurling from the tops of the highest towers, on those parts of the city which had yet escaped destruction, and which resembled at a distance so many passing meteors. Nothing could equal the anguish that absorbed every feeling heart, and which was increased in the dead of the night, by the cries of the miserable victims who were savagely murdered, or by the screams of the young females who fled for protection to their weeping mothers, and whose ineffectual struggles tended only to inflame the passion of their violators. To these dreadful groans and heart-rending cries, which every moment broke upon the ear, were added, the howlings of the dogs, which, chained to the doors of the palaces, according to the custom at Moscow, could not escape from the fire which surrounded them.

"Desirous of terminating the recital of this horrible catastrophe, I shall pass over in silence many circumstances revolting to humanity, and merely describe the dreadful confusion which arose in our army when the fire had reached every part of Moscow, and the whole city was become one immense flame.

"The different streets could no longer be distinguished, and the places on which the houses had stood were marked only by confused piles of stones, calcined and black. The wind, blowing with violence, howled mournfully, and overwhelmed us with ashes, with burning fragments, and even with the iron plates which had covered the palaces. On whatever side we turned we saw only ruins and flames. The fire raged as if it were fanned by some invisible power. The most extensive ranges of buildings seemed to kindle, to burn, and to disappear in an instant.

"A long line of carriages was perceived through the thick smoke loaded with booty. Being too heavily laden for the exhausted cattle to draw them along, they were obliged to halt at every step, when we heard the execrations of the drivers, who, terrified at the encircling flames, endeavoured to push forward with dreadful outcries. The soldiers were diligently employed in forcing open every door. They seemed to fear lest they should leave one house untouched, and as if the booty last acquired was preferable to what they had already obtained, they abandoned their former prize to seize on every new object. Some, when their carriages were laden almost to breaking down, bore the rest of their plunder on their backs. The flames filling the principal streets, often obliged them to retrace their steps. Thus, wandering from place to place through an immense town, the avenues of which they did not know, they sought in vain to extricate themselves from a labyrinth of fire. Many, instead of approaching the gates by which they might have escaped, wandered further from them, and thus became the victims of their own rapacity. The love of plunder was yet predominant, and induced our soldiers to brave every danger. They precipitated themselves into the midst of the flames. They waded in blood, treading upon the dead bodies without remorse, whilst the ruins of the houses, mixed with burning coals, fell thick on their murderous heads. They would probably all have perished, if the insupportable heat had not forced them at length to withdraw into the camp.

"The fourth corps having also received orders to leave Moscow, we proceeded (September 17th) towards Petrowsky, where our divisions were encamped. At that moment, about the dawn of day, I witnessed a spectacle, at once affecting and terrible; namely, a crowd of the miserable inhabitants drawing upon some mean vehicles all that they had been able to save from the conflagration. The soldiers, having robbed them of their horses, the men and women were slowly and painfully dragging along their little carts, some of which contained an infirm mother, others a paralytic old man, and others the miserable wrecks of half-consumed furniture. Children, half naked, followed these interesting groups. Affliction, to which their age is commonly a stranger, was impressed on their features, and, when the soldiers approached them, they ran crying into the arms of their

mothers. Without a shelter and without food, these unfortunate beings wandered in the fields, and fled into the woods; but wherever they bent their steps they met the conquerors of Moscow, who frequently ill-treated them, and sold before their eyes the goods which had been stolen from their deserted habitations."

Bonaparte remained at Petrowsky during the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of September. Moscow continued to burn for these four days, after which the fire slackened, rain fell in torrents, and the Kremlin, after all, escaped destruction. Labaume's description of the encampment at Petrowsky is very striking:

"In the mean time the rain fell in torrents; and the houses near the *chateau* being too few in number to contain the numerous troops who were encamped there, it was almost impossible to obtain shelter: men, horses, and carriages, bivouacked in the middle of the fields. The staff-officers, placed around the *chateaux* where their generals resided, were established in the English gardens, and lodged under grottos, Chinese pavilions, or greenhouses; whilst the horses, tied under acacias or linden-trees, were separated from each other by hedges or beds of flowers. The situation of this camp rendered it truly picturesque, and the effect was still more extraordinary from the new costume adopted by the soldiers, most of whom, as some defence from the inclemency of the weather, had covered themselves with every species of apparel used by the neighbouring nations, and which had once formed the most pleasing and amusing variety on the public walks of Moscow. Thus we saw, walking in our camp, soldiers dressed *à la Tartare, à la Cosaque, à la Chinoise;* one wore the Polish cap, another the high bonnet of the Persians, the Baskirs, or the Kalmouks. In short, our army presented the image of a carnival; and it was afterwards justly said, that our retreat commenced with a masquerade, and ended with a funeral.

"The abundance which the soldiers now enjoyed made them speedily forget their fatigues. With the rain pouring on their heads, and their feet sunk in the mud, they consoled themselves with good cheer, and the advantages which they derived from trafficking in the plunder of Moscow. Although it was forbidden to enter the city, the soldiers, allured by the hope of gain, violated the order, and always returned loaded with provisions and merchandise. Under the pretence of going on marauding parties, they returned near the Kremlin, and dug amongst the ruins, where they discovered entire magazines, whence they drew a profusion of articles of every description. Our camp no longer resembled an army, but a great fair, at which each soldier, metamorphosed into a merchant, sold the most valuable articles at an inconsiderable price; and although

unsheltered in the fields, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, he, by a singular contrast, eat off china plates, drank out of silver vases, and possessed almost every elegant and expensive article which luxury could invent.

"The neighbourhood of Petrowsky and its gardens at length became as unhealthy as it was inconvenient. Napoleon returned to establish himself at the Kremlin, which had not been burnt, and the guards and staff-officers received orders to re-enter the city (the 20th and 21st of September). According to the calculations of the engineers, a tenth part of the houses still remained. They were divided between the different corps of the grand army. We possessed the faubourg of St. Petersburg, in which we had been quartered at our first entrance into the city.

"Every one endeavoured to find quarters for himself, but rarely could we meet with houses which joined together; and to shelter a few companies, we were obliged to occupy a vast tract of land, which only offered a few habitations scattered here and there. Some of the churches, composed of less combustible materials than the other buildings, had their roofs entire, and were transformed into barracks and stables. The hymns and holy melodies which had once resounded within these sacred walls, now gave place to the neighing of horses, and the horrible blasphemies of the soldiers.

"Although the population of Moscow had almost disappeared, there still remained some of those unfortunate beings whom misery had accustomed to look on all occurrences with indifference. Most of them had become the menial servants of their spoilers, and thought themselves most happy if they were permitted to share any loathsome food which the soldiers rejected. There were also a number of unfortunate girls, and these alone derived any advantage from the plunder of Moscow. The soldiers eagerly associated with them, and when they were once introduced into our quarters, they soon became absolute mistresses of them, and squandered away all that the flames had spared. A small number, however, really merited our regard by their education, and above all by their misfortunes; for, horrible to relate, famine and misery had compelled their mothers to come and offer them to us. This immorality, under such circumstances, recoiled on those who had not sufficient virtue to resist the temptation, and who regarded with an eye of passion, the forms which hunger had emaciated, and disease had rendered dangerous and loathsome.

"There yet remained at Moscow a class of men the most contemptible of all, since they escaped the punishment due to their former crimes by consenting to commit still greater; these were the convicted felons. During the whole time of the conflagration of Moscow, they signalized themselves by the audacity

with which they executed the orders they had received. Provided with phosphorus, they lighted the fire anew, wherever it appeared to be extinguished, and even crept by stealth into the houses which were inhabited, to involve them in the general ruin.

"Several of these miscreants were arrested with torches in their hands; but their punishment, too prompt and summary, produced little effect. The people, who always detested their conquerors, regarded these executions merely as the effect of policy. In short, these victims were too obscure for the expiation of such a crime; and above all, their trial, wanting publicity and legal form, threw no light on the cause of this dreadful calamity, and could not justify us clearly in the estimation of those who persisted in believing that we were the authors of it.

"When the main body of the Russian army had taken its different positions, the proprietors of the country in the neighbourhood of Moscow, perceiving that the disasters of the war had highly exasperated the people against us, availed themselves of the popular feeling to excite a general insurrection. Many raised levies at their own expense, and put themselves at the head of the insurgent peasants. These forces, united to the Cossacks, intercepted our convoys on the great roads. But the principal aim of these military preparations was to harass our foragers, and above all to deprive them of the resources which they were still able to procure from the neighbouring villages. The different corps of our army being far separated from each other, and encamped on an immense plain covered with wood, it was impossible to guard against the destructive warfare to which we were now exposed.

"In digging under the ruins of Moscow, the soldiers often found magazines of sugar, wine, or brandy. These discoveries, although they would have been valuable in happier times, afforded no great relief to an army wnich had consumed all the grain of the country, and which would soon have neither bread nor meat to eat.

"Our cattle perished for want of forage, and to procure others, it was each day necessary to engage in combats always disadvantageous to us; and at so great a distance from our native country and all our resources, the smallest loss was sensibly felt.

"Our real miseries were disguised by an apparent abundance. We had neither bread nor meat, yet our tables were covered with sweetmeats, syrups, and dainties. Coffee, and every kind of wine, served in china or crystal vases, convinced us that luxury might be nearly allied to poverty. The extent and the nature of our wants rendered money of little value to us, and this gave rise to an exchange rather than a sale of commodities. They who had cloth offered it for wine; and he who had a pelisse could procure plenty of sugar and coffee."

Two little facts may be mentioned here that seem to us very characteristic of the French nation and their ruler.

On their return to the Kremlin, and in the midst of the privations just described, the soldiers fitted up a theatre, and had plays acted by performers sent from France. At the same time Napoleon composed a decree regulating the affairs of the Théâtre Français at Paris, which was dated "from the imperial headquarters in the Kremlin."

In one of his bulletins he attempted to make the people of France believe that a miracle had been operated in his favour, and the difference of so many degrees of latitude annihilated. "The season," said he, "is very fine; it is similar to the climate of France in October, or perhaps a little colder. Every thing indicates that we must soon go into winter-quarters."

But where these quarters were to be found, was the question that perplexed the army. The commonest soldier could see they could not be at Moscow, where resources were every day more and more straitened, and where they were already feeding on horseflesh. Some spoke of going to the Ukraine—others of marching on Petersburg, but the wisest among them maintained that they ought immediately to fall back on Poland and winter at Wilna. Affairs were in this state when the news of Wellington's great victory at Salamanca reached Napoleon and spread discouragement among his troops. At the same time the two flanks of his army had been unsuccessful; and the now united army of Tormagoff and Tchichagoff, in the south, and the corps of Wittgenstein in the north, threatened to close in between Moscow and Wilna. The Russian peasants were rising every where against the French with an implacable hatred; the seasons, too, in spite of Napoleon, were keeping their usual course, and winter—the fierce winter of the north, with his snows, and ice, and tempests, was at hand. Still the obstinate Napoleon moved not. He threw away a whole month at Moscow, idly dreaming to the very last that the Emperor Alexander would negotiate with him on honourable terms. On the 18th of October, Murat, who was in advance at Vincovo, was attacked by Bennigsen, who took from him three thousand prisoners and forty pieces of artillery. Thus early, the once brilliant cavalry of Murat was almost annihilated. The strongest regiments could not muster more than one hundred famishing horses. The artillery horses had become so weak that they could hardly drag their guns after them. The cannonade of Vincovo was heard at Moscow, and on the following morning, the 19th of October, Napoleon marched out with the mass of his forces to join Murat, leaving only the young guard in the town. On the 24th, that ruined metropolis was wholly evacuated by the French. Russian troops poured in immediately after the exit of the young guard, and arrived in time to save the Kremlin, which the French had attempted to blow up. They

RETRAITE DE MOSCOU

RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.

On the 24th of October, 1809, Napoleon, in effecting his retreat from Moscow, rose early in the morning to reconnoitre. While occupied in this hazardous duty, a party of Cossacks was observed rapidly approaching, when Rapp said to the Emperor, at the same time seizing the reins of his bridle, "It is the Cossacks; you must turn back." Napoleon refused to retreat, and placed himself, with his attendants, on the highway side. The Cossacks, being more intent on plunder than prisoners, passed within lance's length, and failing to observe the inestimable prey which was within their grasp, threw themselves upon some carriages, which were more attractive. This retreat is well known to have been most disastrous to the French army—the cold and privations were extreme. The men sank under the heavy sufferings they were compelled to endure—their route was marked by dead bodies; and the whole presented a scene of greater misery than can possibly be conceived.

could not, however, preserve some of the remaining houses to which the French had set fire. As soon as the Russians re-occupied Moscow, the farmers and peasants reappeared, and the markets were soon abundantly stocked.

The bloody battle of Malo-Yarowslavetz was fought on the 24th of October, and then really began the horrible retreat which the French were obliged to make in the very direction the Russians chose for them, and which was, of course, the most unfavourable of all directions. The morning after this affair, Napoleon, while making a reconnaisance was wellnigh taken prisoner. Some loud cries were suddenly heard, and some dark masses seen in a plain between him and his army. At first the cries seemed to be "Vive l'Empereur!" but soon the wild "hourrah!" and the loose but rapid advance, showed they were not French soldiers.

"It is the Cossacks," said the faithful Rapp, seizing the emperor's rein; "you must fly!" But instead of using his spurs Napoleon drew his sword, and in the midst of his attendants stood firmly waiting the attack on a bank by the road's side. Rapp's horse was wounded and thrown down by a charging lance—a troop of Cossacks were within lance's length of the emperor, when, happily for him, these children of the desert, who were always intent on plunder, saw some carriages and baggage-waggons crossing the plain, and instantly dashing after them left Napoleon in safety, and lost an inestimable prize, which, though they knew it not, had been fairly within their reach.

A day or two after this occurrence, Napoleon, whose temper was dreadfully soured, and whose intellect really appears to have been clouded, threatened to shoot his prisoner Witzingerode, who was a German by birth, but, like many of his countrymen, a Russian by adoption, and a general in that service. "You are a leader of Cossacks," shouted Bonaparte. "The Cossacks are brigands, and I will have you instantly shot as a robber!"

"I did not command the Cossacks," replied Witzingerode, "but a part of the regular army. As a Russian soldier I am at all times prepared for a French bullet!"

Napoleon having ascertained the name and country of his prisoner then proceeded in a still more angry tone: "Who and what are you? A man without a country—you have always been my enemy—you fought in the Austrian ranks at Austerlitz—I now find you with the Russians! Nevertheless you are a native of the Confederation of the Rhine—therefore, my subject and a rebel. Seize him, gendarmes, and let the traitor be tried and shot."

Napoleon's staff, however, with all the people about him, opposed this unjustifiable and most dishonourable act, and in the end the general was sent as a prisoner of war into Poland, where he was soon rescued by a pulk of Cossacks.

The masterly sketch with which we opened this supplemen-

tary chapter will give a general notion of the battles and losses of the French on this the most disastrous retreat in ancient or modern warfare; but we will offer a few more details that must have the effect of showing how atrocious was Napoleon's ambition and remorseless rage for conquest.

As Napoleon fell back upon Mojaïsk, he burned and destroyed every thing he found on his route, and his soldiers were soon so intent on this barbarous work that they set fire even to the places which they, or the columns after them, ought to have halted in. Hence, in a short time, the mass of the French had to bivouac on the snow with the thermometer ten degrees below zero.

"(November 6th). We marched," says Labaume, "towards Smolensk with an ardour which redoubled our strength; and approaching Doroghobouï, distant from that city only twenty leagues, the thought that in three days we should reach the end of our misfortunes, filled us with the most intoxicating joy; when suddenly the atmosphere, which had hitherto been so brilliant, was clouded by cold and dense vapours. The sun, enveloped by the thickest mists, disappeared from our sight, and the snow falling in large flakes, in an instant obscured the day, and confounded the earth with the sky. The wind, furiously blowing, howled dreadfully through the forests, and overwhelmed the firs already bent down by the ice; while the country around, as far as the eye could reach, presented one white and savage appearance.

"The soldiers, vainly struggling with the snow and the wind, that rushed upon them with tempestuous violence, could no longer distinguish the road; and falling into the ditches which bordered it, there found a grave. Others pressed on towards the end of their journey, scarcely able to drag themselves along. They were badly mounted, badly clothed, with nothing to eat, nothing to drink, shivering with the cold, and groaning with pain. Becoming selfish through despair, they afforded neither succour, nor even one glance of pity to those who, exhausted by fatigue and disease, expired around them. On that dreadful day, how many unfortunate beings, perishing by cold and famine, struggled hard with the agonies of death! We heard some of them faintly bidding their last adieu to their friends and comrades. Others, as they drew their last breath, pronounced the name of their mothers, their wives, their native country, which they were never more to see. The rigour of the frost soon seized on their benumbed limbs, and penetrated through their whole frame. Stretched on the road, we could distinguish only the heaps of snow that covered them, and which, at almost every step, formed little undulations, like so many graves. At the same time vast flights of ravens, abandoning the plain to take refuge in the neighbouring forests, croaked mournfully as they passed over our heads; and troops of dogs, which had followed us from Moscow, and lived solely on our

mangled remains, howled around us, as if they would hasten the period when we were to become their prey.

"From that day the army lost its courage and its military attitude. The soldier no longer obeyed his officer. The officer separated himself from his general. The disbanded regiments marched in disorder. Searching for food, they spread themselves over the plain, burning and pillaging whatever fell in their way. No sooner had the soldiers separated from the ranks, than they were assailed by a population eager to avenge the horrors of which it had been the victim. The Cossacks came to the succour of the peasants, and drove back to the great road, already filled with the dying and the dead, those who escaped from the carnage made among them.

"Such was the situation of the army, when we arrived at Doroghobouï. This little town would have given new life to our unfortunate troops, if Napoleon had not been so far blinded by rage, as to forget that his soldiers would be the first to suffer by the devastation which he caused to be made. Doroghobouï had been burnt, its magazines pillaged, and the brandy with which they were filled, had been poured into the streets, while the rest of the army was perishing for want of it. The few houses which remained were occupied exclusively by a small number of generals and staff-officers. The few soldiers who yet dared to face the enemy, had little shelter from the rigours of the season, while the others, who had wandered from their proper corps, were repulsed on every side, and found no asylum in any part of the camp. How deplorable was the situation of these poor wretches! Tormented by hunger, we saw them run after every horse the moment it fell. They devoured it raw, like dogs, and fought among themselves for the mangled limbs. Worn out by want of sleep and long marches, they saw nothing around them but the snow; not one spot appeared on which they could sit or lie. Penetrated with the cold, they wandered on every side to find wood, but the snow had caused it entirely to disappear. If perchance they found a little, they knew not where to light it. If a spot less exposed than others was discovered, it afforded them but a momentary shelter; for scarcely had their fire kindled, when the violence of the wind, and the moisture of the atmosphere, suddenly extinguished it, and deprived them of the only consolation which remained in their extreme distress. In one place we saw a multitude of them, huddled together like beasts at the root of a beech, or pine, or under a waggon. Others were employed in tearing huge branches from the trees, or pulling down by main force, and burning the houses at which the officers lodged. Although they were exhausted by fatigue they stood erect. They wandered like spectres through the livelong night, or stood immovable around some enormous fire."

Labaume was with the 4th corps under Eugène Beauharnais;

but the state of affairs and of discipline was not much better where the emperor commanded in person. It is wonderful, however, and it ought to be remarked in proof of the deep and steady attachment Napoleon knew how to inspire in the breast of the French soldier, that in the midst of all these horrible sufferings, his men hardly ever murmured a complaint against him, but always received him with the old shout of "Vive l'Empereur," whenever he rode up to them, or passed them on the march. Some of the German and Polish auxiliaries at times wore a sulky face, and the Italian regiments would now and then cry out to him, "*Maestà, non abbiamo di che mangiare,*" or "*Maestà, non siamo pagati.*"* But this was almost all—even among the troops not French the signs of disapprobation rarely exceeded this. Even at the carnage of the Berezina the French cheered Napoleon as he crossed the bridge, with almost as much enthusiasm as they had shown in happier days at the bridges of Lodi and of Arcole.

It was on the banks of the Berezina that the emperor was joined by Victor and Oudinot with nearly fifty thousand men. This was a powerful reinforcement, but the Russians also had got an accession of strength, and in a very curious manner.

We have called the treaty of peace concluded between Russia and Turkey, through the medium of Mr. Stratford Canning, an important one, and so it proved in the event.

At the fatal passage of the Berezina Napoleon found, in station there, several Russian divisions which Alexander, owing to the peace just then concluded with the sultan, had been enabled to withdraw from the frontiers of Turkey.† It was these troops that gave the *coup de grace* to the French, who only broke through them after an immense loss, and who, being weakened and demoralized, harassed by hordes of Cossacks of the Don, the Dnieper, and the Ukraine, that had followed the Russians from the Danube and Turkey, soon after the affair of the Berezina, lost all order, spirit, and discipline, and had no longer even the semblance of a regular army.

"This treaty of peace," says M. Juchereau de Saint-Denys, "was destructive to Napoleon, for it rendered the Russian divisions of the Danube quite disengaged, and just at the most critical moment for the French army."

As soon as Napoleon got across the Berezina, he made his arrangements for leaving the sad skeleton of his army, and for flight to Paris with all possible speed.

On the 5th of December his head-quarters were at Smorgoni, and there, after talking to them in terms of hope and confidence, he took an affectionate and individual farewell of each of his generals. At ten o'clock on that inclement night he stepped

* "Your Majesty, we have nothing to eat! Your Majesty, we are not paid!"

† This force is often called by different writers, the army of Moldavia.

with Caulaincourt into a sledge, which, followed by only two other sledges, drove off at speed on the road to Poland.

He had no escort—none of his faithful guards with him, and had a narrow escape from being taken on that road by a determined Russian partisan. He, however, arrived safely at Warsaw, where the famous Abbé de Pradt was residing as his minister, on the 10th of December.

The abbé, who had been distracted by the most contradictory accounts of the fate of the grand army, was surprised to see a tall gaunt figure enter his room without any ceremony. This figure was dressed in furs, stiffened by frost, and was supported by a servant. At first the abbé could not recognise his old acquaintance—it was Caulaincourt, the Duke of Vicenza.

"What! you here?" exclaimed the astonished De Pradt; "and where is the emperor?"

"At the hotel d'Angleterre, expecting you."

"Why did he not stop at the palace?"

"He travels incognito."

"Do you want any thing?"

"Some Burgundy or Malaga."

"All I have is at your service; but where are you going now?"

"To Paris."

"To Paris! But where is the army?"

"It no longer exists!" said Caulaincourt, looking upwards.

"And the victory of the Beresina—and the six thousand prisoners?"

"We got across the river, that was all; the prisoners were a few hundred men, who have escaped. We have had other business than to guard them."

The Abbé de Pradt then hastened to the hotel. In the yard he saw three sledges in a dilapidated condition. One of these was for the emperor and Caulaincourt, the second for two officers of rank, and the third for the Mameluke Rustan and another servant. He was introduced in a mysterious manner into a miserable room, where a dirty female servant was blowing a fire made of green wood that smoked abominably. And there stood Napoleon, whom the abbé had last seen at Dresden, surrounded by more than royal pomp, and by his vassal kings! He was dressed in a green pelisse, lined with furs and covered with lace, and was endeavouring to keep himself warm by walking briskly about the room. He gaily saluted "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur." The abbé was inclined to show some sympathy and tenderness, but he says, "The poor man could not understand me." He therefore only helped Napoleon to take off his cloak.

The conversation then turned upon the state of public feeling at Warsaw, when the abbé was obliged to tell the emperor that the notions of the inhabitants of the grand duchy had been

much changed since they had been induced to despair of his (Napoleon's) desire or faculty of restoring the national independence of the Poles; and that now, seeing there was small chance of their becoming free Poles, they were already devising means to reconcile themselves with their former masters, the Prussians. Here two Polish ministers entered, and checked the abbé's unsavoury communications. From that moment no one spoke but Napoleon, who in a singular monologue endeavoured to cover over his recent and tremendous failure, and to enumerate plans by which to recover all his losses. "We must levy ten thousand Poles, and check the advance of these Russians. A lance and a horse is all that's wanted." And then he added, what Tom Paine had said long before him, "There is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous."

The ministers then congratulated him on his escape from so many dangers. He replied, "Dangers!—None in the world. I live in agitation. The more I bustle, the better I am. Let kings of cockayne grow fat in their palaces—horseback and the fields for me! From the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step. But why do I find you all so much alarmed here?"

"We cannot judge of the truth of the reports about the army."

"Bah! the army is in a superb condition. I have a hundred and twenty thousand men; I have beaten the Russians in every action; they are no longer the soldiers of Friedland and Eylau. The army will recruit at Wilna—I am going to bring up three hundred thousand men. Success will render the Russians foolhardy. I will fight them two or three times upon the Oder, and in a month I will be again upon the Niemen. It is true I quit my brave soldiers with regret; but I must watch Austria and Prussia, and I have more weight when seated on my throne than when at the head of my army. All that has just happened goes for nothing—a mere misfortune—the enemy can claim no merit in it. I beat them every where; I made a fool of that ass of an admiral (Napoleon could never pronounce the name Tchitchagoff); I had good troops and cannon; the position was superb; five hundred toises of a marsh—a river!" He repeated this, and then quoted from one of his bulletins a distinction he had drawn between men of strong and men of weak minds. He continued, "I have seen worse affairs than this. At Marengo I was beaten till six o'clock in the evening—next morning I was master of Italy! At Essling that archduke tried to stop me. He declared something or other. My army had already advanced a league and a half. I did not even condescend to make any disposition of my forces. Every body knows how such things are managed when I am in the field. I could not help the Danube rising sixteen feet in one night. Ah! had not that happened there would have been an end of the Austrian monarchy. But it was written in heaven that I

should marry an archduchess! (These last words he pronounced in a very gay manner.) Just in the same way in Russia I could not help its freezing. They kept telling me every morning that I had lost ten thousand horses by the cold during the night.—Well, farewell to you!" He bade them farewell five or six times, but each time returned to his subject. "Our Norman horses are not so hardy as the Russian horses—they fall under ten degrees of cold (beneath zero). It is the same with the men. Look at the Bavarians—there remains not one of them! Perhaps people will say I stayed too long at Moscow. That may be true; but the weather was fine—the winter came on before its time—besides, I expected peace. On the 5th of October I sent Lauriston to treat. I thought of going to St. Petersburg, and I had time enough to do so, or to go to the south of Russia, or to Smolensk. Well! we will make head at Wilna; Murat is left there. Ha! ha! ha! It is a grand political game! Nothing venture, nothing win. It is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. The Russians have shown they have firmness of character—their emperor is beloved by the people—they have clouds of Cossacks—it is something to have such a kingdom—the peasants of the crown love their government—the nobility are all on horseback. They proposed to me that I should set the slaves at liberty, but that I would not do—they would have massacred every body. I made regular war upon the Emperor Alexander, but who could have expected such a blow as the burning of Moscow? Now, they would lay the blame on us; but it was in fact themselves who did it. Such a sacrifice would have done honour to ancient Rome!"

He then returned to his visionary project of checking the Russians by means of a large body of Polish lancers. Such a levy, however extensively made, could not have been effective against an immense army flushed with victory; but Napoleon had behaved with so much insincerity to the Poles, he had so thoroughly committed their independence and wellbeing, that they could scarcely be expected to make any very strenuous exertions in his favour.

The ministers spoke of his passage through Silesia; on which he said, "Ha! Prussia?" as if doubting the security of that route. At last he turned to depart. He interrupted the ministers who were wishing him health, by telling them that he "could not be in better health were the very devil in him." These were his last words in the hotel d'Angleterre at Warsaw. He then threw himself into his sledge, the horses went off at speed, nearly overturning the humble carriage as it passed out of the court-yard gate, and disappeared in the darkness.

During this extraordinary monologue, which is not all madness though it looks like it, the ill-lighted fire went out. Napoleon

was kept warm by the heat of his energies and the motion of walking up and down the apartment, but the unlucky ministers were respectfully still, and were almost frozen to death.

The emperor flew on towards Paris with astonishing rapidity. Years after, when a prisoner at St. Helena, he said he had a narrow escape from being arrested while crossing Silesia. "But the Prussians," he added, "passed the time in consulting which they ought to have employed in acting. They behaved like the Saxons, of whom Charles XII. said gaily, on his leaving Dresden, 'They will be deliberating to-day whether they should have arrested me yesterday.'" At Dresden, where he arrived on the 14th of December, he was affectionately received by the kind-hearted, high-minded old king, who went incognito to visit him at an hotel.

It was late in the night of the 18th of December that Napoleon arrived before the gilded gates of the Tuileries, within which he had some difficulty in obtaining admittance. With his usual short, quick steps, he hurried up stairs, and through the magnificent saloons. The empress had retired to her private apartments. In the ante-room, a lady in waiting, alarmed at seeing a man muffled up in furs rushing to her majesty's bedchamber, threw herself between him and the door. She immediately afterwards, however, recognised the imposing, never-to-be-forgotten countenance of the emperor, and shrieked aloud. Terrified at this noise, Maria Louisa rushed into the ante-room, and then into the arms of her husband, whom she had never expected to see more. This meeting is said to have been extremely affectionate on both sides.

According to Mademoiselle Avrillon, the return of Napoleon had a magical effect on the courtly atmosphere of the Tuileries, which for some time had been cloudy and doubtful, scarcely admitting one cheering ray of that bright star—the star of Napoleon's destiny, in which in former days Frenchmen had such unlimited confidence. Mademoiselle says,

"The bad news received from the army set our courtiers seriously a-thinking. The Empress Josephine, who by long habit knew the value of court affection, saw around her persons who lately exhausted themselves in protestations of devotion and fidelity, already prepared to turn sides, according as the wind might blow. For, as they reasoned, the unheard-of catastrophe of the campaign of 1812 must produce strange fruits—bringing with them the fall of the conqueror: it was therefore right that every one should take precautions, and secure himself a port in case of a storm. This is what was thought by the majority of the great dignitaries of the household, some of whom carefully concealed their ideas, while others showed them clearly enough, when lo! of a sudden, and without any preparation, at the very moment when nobody would have been astonished at

nearing o fthe emperor's death, a courier arrived at Malmaison to announce that his majesty had just arrived at the Tuileries.

"Then every face cleared up, as if a great victory had been obtained. Every courtier showed more earnestness, more devotion, more enthusiasm for Napoleon than ever. They were never tired of making eulogiums on that character, unique in history, on that man as great in adversity as in prosperity, and whose iron will would, sooner or later, force victory to serve him. But with poor Josephine the blow was struck, the effect produced, and she needed no second proof to appreciate the sincerity and devotion of these exalted admirers."*

It was shortly after this return that Napoleon gave a proof of that egotism, which, in the opinion of Lord Byron, did him so much injury.

"The great error of Napoleon, 'if we have writ our annals true,' was a continual obtrusion on mankind of his want of all community of feeling for or with them: perhaps more offensive to human vanity than the active cruelty of more trembling and suspicious tyranny.

"Such were his speeches to public assemblies as well as individuals; and the single expression which he is said to have used on returning to Paris after the Russian winter had destroyed his army, rubbing his hands over the fire, 'This is pleasanter than Moscow,' would probably alienate more favour from his cause than the destruction and reverses which led to the remark."†

The enormity of Napoleon's ambition will be properly estimated, if attention be given to the following statement of what were his actual power and possessions when he began the mad invasion of Russia. With all his annexations in Belgium, Holland, Italy, and elsewhere, the so called French empire reckoned one hundred and thirty departments, containing a population of forty-two millions! Besides all this, he exercised a paramount authority in the kingdom of Italy with its six millions of inhabitants; in the kingdom of Naples with its five millions; and he held the Illyrian provinces, which formed a separate government, and included Dalmatia, Carniola, and part of Croatia. In the north of Germany, he coerced Prussia, and was absolute master of the kingdom of Westphalia, the grand duchy of Berg, &c., whilst the princes of the confederation of the Rhine were his humble vassals. Yet all this was not enough for one who was not born to the property of a rood of land—for one who in his boyhood and youth positively experienced some of the bitterest pangs of poverty!—*Editor.*

* See Mémoires, vol. ii. † Notes to 3d Canto of "Childe Harold."

NOTES ON THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND, AND BONAPARTE'S TREATMENT OF THE POLES.

Napoleon's connexion with Poland was one of the very extraordinary passages of his life, and yet it has not hitherto been explained in an impartial or satisfactory manner to the English reader. We will endeavour to supply this deficiency by a recapitulation of authenticated facts, and by as few remarks as may be of our own. On the first iniquitous partition of Poland we shall say nothing.* It was after the final partition or extinction of that unhappy country, in 1794, that the name of Bonaparte became a sort of rallying-point to the Poles. We shall therefore start with those events, and follow them up to the year 1815, and the fall of Napoleon, when Poland was partially re-established as a kingdom by the Emperor Alexander.

Stanislaus Augustus (Poniatowski), the last King of the Poles, owed his crown to Russian favour and intrigue; but though continually distracted between his duty to his country, and the necessity of procuring the goodwill of his potent neighbour, he was animated with a reforming and patriotic spirit. His mind, however, was rather refined and generous than strong and resolute; and he came too late. The friends of humanity will still bless his name for the good he proposed, and for the benefits he really conferred, and was conferring, on his country, when the confederate powers deprived him of his throne.

Under his reign, troubled as it constantly was by Russian interference, the studies of science and literature, which had fallen so much into neglect, during the anarchical or anti-national government of his predecessors, were protected and renewed with enthusiasm. The language of the country, which had been much neglected and corrupted, was now assiduously cultivated; and the king endeavoured to raise the moral condition of the people, by establishing schools throughout the provinces. "It was now," says Oginski, "that

* The first partition of Poland was made in 1772, the partitioners being Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederic the Great of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria. In this division, however, a small part of the country was left to a dependant and almost nominal King of Poland. In the last division the spoilers left nothing.

Austria, under the rule of Maria Theresa, appears long to have held back from what the empress-queen considered a project of guilt. She did not show herself so averse to the second partition; but, according to Oginski, Jomini, (See *Histoire des Guerres de la Révolution*), and other good authorities, Austria was the last and most reluctant of the three powers in acceding to the final partition of Poland, and if she did so in 1794, it was because she saw that the catastrophe was unavoidable, and would take place even though she had no part in it. It is curious, however, and characteristic to see Austria produce the following *right* to Gallitzia, the portion allotted to her. "Gallitzia, whose principal town is Lemberg, was anciently possessed by the Kings of Hungary, who gave it to Poland in 1422-23, renouncing their rights *for the present*." This equivocal expression served as a claim, and the crown of Hungary being then held by Austria, the emperor was justified in resuming jurisdiction, &c. over the country.

Konarski organized '*Les écoles pies*,' reformed the methods of instruction, and published several useful works. Bohomolec edited an instructive journal, in which he combated many of the popular prejudices. Crasicki, the most amiable and versatile of poets, criticised, amused, and instructed. Wengierski, gifted with satirical wit, lashed the vices and foibles of the magnates, who excused his hard truths for the clever verses in which they were told. Kopczynski composed a grammar, and subjected the Polish language to fixed rules. Naruscewitz, a celebrated historian and poet, translated Horace and Tacitus, and in writing the annals of his native country, he reached the elevated style of the Roman historian. The learned Albetrandi, a distinguished antiquary, sent by the king to Stockholm and Rome, with orders to collect materials connected with the history of Poland, enriched the national archives with more than a hundred precious manuscripts, all written by his own hand. The astronomer Poczobutt, the professor of physics, Strzecki, and Sniadecki, Skrzetuski, Wyrwicz, Staszis, Kollontay, and many other learned and literary characters, seriously applied themselves to the instruction of youth, and laboured to inspire a taste for study among their countrymen.

"But nothing contributed more to destroy old prejudices, and to develop the natural disposition which the Poles have in general for study and instruction, than the organization of the Military College of Cadets, and the establishment of a commission of education. These two institutions alone might suffice to give an idea of all that the king would have been capable of, if his energy had answered to his talent, and if fortune had not always combated and hampered his best intentions. In proportion as the national schools were organized and filled, and as the beneficial effects of the new system of education were felt, every thing in Poland assumed a new aspect. Ideas and opinions visibly changed in the provinces as well as in the capital. In a short time there was no one who did not desire to learn the Polish language grammatically, to speak it purely, and to write it with precision and elegance. The national history was studied; the memory of the great men who have illustrated it was recalled; their deeds were sung in the national language; and the Poles, to *patriotize* themselves, began to wear the ancient national costume. The Polish theatre was particularly protected by the king, nor was there a dearth of good dramatic authors, such as the Prince Adam Czartoryski, Zablocki, Kniazin, Niemcewicz,* and Osinski; nor of good actors, among whom Bogulawski (who moreover enriched the dramatic repertory with many pieces, original and translated) was especially distinguished. The Polish ladies, who have always been celebrated for their wit and amiability, rivalled each other in preaching patriotism, and no longer boasted of any thing but what was national.

* The Prince Adam Czartoryski, and the Count Niemcewicz, driven on the failure of the revolution of 1830 from their native land, where all they possessed had been seized and confiscated by the Russians, have long been in England, enjoying that hospitality which the land of the free and the generous of heart can extend to them. It is honourable to us as a nation, that two such truly distinguished individuals should have chosen their place of refuge among us. The count, though far advanced in years, and burdened by many sorrows, still preserves the wit and vivacity of youth. Long may he continue to live with us!

Good society reigned every where ; the assemblies were numerous and gay."*

The cause of reason and humanity had certainly made great progress during the few latter years of the reign of Stanislaus Augustus, and, though it was not without the most violent opposition (fomented probably by foreign powers), the constitution of May 1791 was definitively adopted. The following were among the most important of the changes contemplated :

1. The throne was to be declared henceforth hereditary in families.

2. Ample privileges were accorded to free towns, and the burghers' deputies were admitted to seats in the Diet. These burgher deputies, moreover, at the end of their second year might be ennobled if they chose. In the army, every man, whatever might be his original condition, on obtaining the rank of captain, was declared noble. At each Diet, thirty *bourgeois* might be ennobled at the demand of the free towns.

3. Distinct courts of justice were established for the free peasants.

4. The *liberum veto,* the source of such incalculable evils, was for ever abolished.

The constitution of May, which contained numerous other articles in the same spirit as the above-mentioned, and scarcely less important, united a variety of opinions in its favour ; it was hailed as a pledge of Poland's hasty resurrection ; as a sacred chart where the rights of man were vindicated ; and in England the eloquence of Burke and Fox were exhausted in its praise—it was, indeed, an immense improvement on the past. Its evident tendency was to raise the *bourgeoisie* and to form that "*tiers état,*" whose non-existence in Poland was the cause of half her disasters. On the passing of the articles which regarded the burghers, many of the more patriotic of the Polish nobles inscribed their names on the lists of citizens, and took up, what we should call their freedom in the different cities. But we must observe the abolition of the slavery of the cultivators of the soil is not even mentioned.†

Such as it was, the constitution of May would have regenerated Poland, had it been adopted some twenty years before ; and that unhappy country, strengthened by its results and gradual improvement, might have been in a condition to brave foreign intrigues and foreign arms in 1791. But it was unfortunate, to an anomaly, in its dates, for it came too early as well as too late ; and the well-meaning King of Poland, during the remainder of his life, never ceased to regret—to complain, that he had been forced by the impetuosity of his subjects, to grant the new constitution, at least two years before he had matured it—before circumstances were favourable for its reception. "Did they not know," said Stanislaus, reproachfully, "that by gathering the fruits of the earth while they were yet green, they would lose the harvest? Am I to blame for the ill success of a measure whose

* Mémoires de Michel Oginski sur la Pologne et les Polonais, depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815.

† In justice, however, we ought to attend to the following assertions of Oginski : "There is no doubt whatever, that if this diet had not been forcibly interrupted and dissolved for ever, that the slavery of the peasants would have disappeared ; for the wisest measures had been taken in order to prepare for and gradually produce that crisis without occasioning any violent shock, or infringing the rights and property of the noble landholders.'—See *Mémoires,* tom. i., p. 59.

adoption and date were precociously anticipated, and against my conviction and will?"

And here it is important to remember, what was indisputably the fact, that the constitution of May (essentially a revolution in itself) was hurried on by an imprudent spirit of imitation—that the effervescence of the French revolution had reached the Poles, and that the new and astounding crisis almost justified the neighbouring kings in the cry of jacobinism which they speedily raised against Poland. The sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, could not see without alarm, the rapid successes of the republican army, nor fail to be apprehensive of *every movement* that received its impulse from France; more especially at a moment, when throughout Europe, provinces and states were revolutionized either by French constraint or by their own spontaneous rising, and the *apanages* of royalty esteemed it a glory to be incorporated with the formidable democracy of France. We can enter into the feelings of Count Oginski, when he complains it is hard, that the very constitution of May, which had been strenuously opposed as placing too great power in the hands of the king, should immediately after be accused of jacobinism: we can believe with him, that the nation was free from the perilous taint, and admit his reasonings, that—

"In France, the clergy and the nobility were regarded as the enemies of the country. In Poland, on the contrary, the clergy and the nobility of themselves composed the nation, and *they* had endeavoured to form a constitution, which should ensure the individual liberty of each of them, and promote the happiness and tranquillity of the classes of society which had no part in their deliberations. In short, the Poles had shed no blood, had never attempted the life of their king; *and the 'tiers état'*, or middle classes, *which, properly speaking, had made the revolution in France, did not even exist in Poland.*" Still it remained matter of notoriety, that emissaries of the French Republic—those fanatic members of the "propaganda fidei" of a remorseless democracy—had been detected in Poland, where they disseminated by words, and by printed books and pamphlets, sentiments utterly subversive of all social order; and moreover, that a self-elected deputation of Poles then at Paris, presented themselves at the bar of the Convention, where they glorified in professing ultra-jacobin principles, and assured the French that the whole Polish nation shared their sentiments. They received the usual recompence. The Polish nobles were welcomed with the fraternal *accolade* of the democrats, and decreed the honour of seats at the august assembly.

To conclude our remarks on the constitution of May, we must add that it was madly precipitated, were we only to take into account the circumstances, that the king had neither time to recruit his army nor his exhausted finances; that the kingdom was insufficiently provided with arms, and that at the moment we speak of, the property of the Polish bankers and capitalists was chiefly locked up in the countries with which they provoked a war.*

We have just explained that the enfranchisement of the serfs was not effected by the constitution of May, which still continues to be the

* A general bankruptcy ensued, and this catastrophe accelerated the fate of Poland.

great boast of the Poles, and we must here make the important remark, that a tender of liberty to the people was only made in the last extremity. Indeed it was not until the insurrection of 1794, the proposed object of which was to establish the constitution of May, that the brave Kosciutzko, in arming the peasants with scythes and pikes (he had no better weapons to put in their hands), attempted to awaken their patriotism, and create a spirit, of which they were devoid, by presenting them with the flattering perspective of freedom. But this was later than the eleventh hour—it was far too late, to effect any great good! Men cannot pass at a step from the character of slaves to that of free men—a tardy invitation, and a promise, could not efface the degradation of ages, and the instruction of a few weeks could not remove the ignorance, the stupidity, and indifference of the Polish serfs, or even raise them to a clear comprehension of their rights as men, or their duties as citizens.

The result of the unequal struggle are matters of public history. Its bloody details, from which we shrink with horror, may be found in the Memoirs of Oginski, who fought with Kosciutzko. The final and entire partition was the catastrophe that might have been foreseen, and in 1794, the fate which Mr. Burke had augured for France, befel Poland—she was blotted out of the map of Europe.

After the murderous storming of Praga, and the surrender of Warsaw to the Russians, many of the Polish patriots, among whom was Count Oginski, retired to Venice, where the minister of the French Republic gave them countenance and protection. From the head of the Adriatic the emigrants found means of addressing and maintaining a correspondence with their friends in Poland; whilst another knot of refugees was formed at Paris, who busied themselves in soliciting the assistance of the French republic in favour of their country. The government of France had indeed promised, *on the faith of republicans*, to succour the Poles, and blandishments and fine words, that cost nothing, were lavished upon them. In April, 1795, the news of the treaty of Basle, between Prussia and France, dissipated the final delusion, and the Polish patriots learned with consternation that France had guaranteed to his Prussian majesty all the actual possessions of Prussia, in which his share of Poland was of course included. Oginski, whose faith in republican virtue was soon to be so shaken, had drawn up a remonstrance, in the name of his countrymen, the moment he heard of the negotiations which ended in the treaty of Basle. He represented to the French government how favourable was the opportunity for acting in behalf of the Poles, by imposing on the King of Prussia the condition that he should relinquish the acquisitions he had made in Poland, and co-operate with France in the re-establishment of that country, whose dismemberment had destroyed the political balance of Europe. Barrs, the Polish agent at Paris, " who," says Oginski with curious simplicity, " found my observations very just, and shared my opinion ;" made his representations to the members of the French government who more particularly favoured the cause of the Poles. The answer of the republican executive, which ought not to be forgotten, was, " that the condition proposed by the Polish emigrants could not be laid before the King of Prussia, because it would delay or stop the pending negotiations—

that France had as much need of peace as the King of Prussia, in order that she might heal her wounds and recruit her exhausted finances—that, however (it was added to console the suppliant patriots), the present peace with Prussia *could not last long*, and *then*, at the opening of another war, the French republicans would certainly wrest Poland from the grasp of its usurpers, if they did not even obtain by force the restoration of her national independence.

But the bubble was now burst. The Poles had to feel, how much an oppressed people might expect from foreign arms and interference, and from the faith of republicans; whilst many of the emigrant nobles, despoiled of every thing, had to experience in their own particular case, and with all the bitterness of the Italian exile,

Si come sa di sale,
Lo pane altrui—e com' è duro cale
Lo scendere e salir per altrui scale.—*Dante.*

Like drowning men who catch at straws, the Poles now turned for help, from democratic France, to despotic Turkey—from the land where the millennium of liberality, of equality of rights, and of an emancipation from every prejudice, religious as well as political, was proclaimed, to that, where all such sentiments, could they ever have penetrated, would have been treated by the dreaming Turks as aberrations of the intellect. Oginski was named to this promising embassy by his brethren at Paris, who assumed the title of "Comité de salut public," and having received long letters of instruction, addressed "*Au Citoyen, &c.*," and signed by "Citizens" who were now without a country or a home, the active Pole prepared his departure for Constantinople towards the end of 1795. The French agents, at the head of whom was Lallemant, the minister at Venice, gave encouragement and advice to Oginski, and affected to hope that he would be able to prevail on the divan, at least, to grant an asylum to the Poles in Moldavia, whence, at the first rupture with the Muscovites, they might attempt the liberation of their own country. An English passport, under a feigned name, opened the way for the Polish envoy through the Italian peninsula, and after some narrow escapes from Russian spies and emissaries, who were permitted to exercise their functions in that country against the Polish refugees, he embarked at Leghorn for the Levant.

Oginski appeared at Constantinople with a cause infinitely more desperate than that of Charles XII., the guest or the captive of Bender; and this part of the narrative is almost a counterpart of the adventures of Poniatowski, and the other agents for the mad king of Sweden at the Turkish capital. Not being accredited in any official capacity, it was by no means easy to establish a political correspondence with the Ottoman ministers, who are never very accessible. But Oginski did at last obtain an interview with Prince Moruzi, first drogoman of the Porte, and the receptacle of nearly all the political knowledge of the empire.* The Pole was astonished at the Greek's information and various talents. Moruzi seemed as well acquainted with the state of

* Oginski was introduced to the Greek prince, whose brother was then Hospodar of Wallachia, by Verninac, the minister of the French republic.

parties and factions in Poland as he was himself. After adverting to the fatal disunion of the Poles, which had brought on the catastrophe, and to many other circumstances, particularly to that of the diet in 1791, having sent to the Porte, instead of an active and prudent minister, an ambassador who had employed a whole year in his journey from Warsaw to Constantinople, and who, when at his post, had disgusted the Turks by his pomp and insolence, and by the number and unruliness of his suite, Moruzi threw out some slight hopes, that in case of a division being made by Sweden against Russia, the Turks would begin hostilities, and then the Polish patriots might co-operate with effect. Moruzi, whose talents we have often heard mentioned with great respect at Constantinople, in the course of this curious conversation, when again adverting to the differences of opinions and views of the Poles, said, "*Barthélémy, Ministre de France à Bâle, a eu raison de dire, qu'il fallait tout faire pour les Polonais, sans les Polonais.*"*

When Oginski attempted to arouse the wary Greek by a startling picture of the threatening attitude of Russia, and her well-known views on Constantinople, Moruzi replied with calmness and a smile, "*Beaucoup d'eau s'écoulera dans le Danube avant que ces évènemens sinistres peuvent être réalisés!*" (a great deal of water will flow in the Danube before these sinister projects can be realized). Oginski was obliged to promise that he would keep secret his interview with the drogoman of the Porte. But the secrets of the Polish diplomatist were not in his own keeping, for while thus engaged, the Russian minister at Constantinople received information of every step he took, and obtained copies of his letters and communications to the French and other agents. A Perote servant whom Oginski employed, repaired every morning and evening to the Russian legation, to give a report of his master's proceedings during the day. This circumstance Oginski had afterwards the satisfaction of learning from the mouth of the worthy individual himself.

Hopes so vague and distant as those which fell from the cautious drogoman could scarcely satisfy the ardent Poles, and Oginski again attempted to arm France in their favour. About this time (1796) the French had penetrated into the very heart of Italy, and were approaching the western frontiers of the Turkish empire. The eyes of the world were fixed on their youthful and astonishing leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, and to this rising star, Oginski, with many others whose fortunes were to be blighted rather than cherished by its influence, confidently turned himself. From Constantinople he addressed the following emphatic letter, which is highly characteristic of the times:

"TO THE CITIZEN BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.

"Citizen General,—If nothing were wanting to illustrate the glory of the French name by victories and conquests; if nothing else were required to render you worthy of the title of 'Defender,' and of 'a citizen who has merited well of his country;' and if your ambition, citizen general, were confined to the throwing of your enemy to the earth, and to the making yourself admired and respected throughout

* Barthelemy, the Minister of France, at Basle, was right in saying that every thing ought to be done for the Poles, *without* the Poles.

Europe, you might already terminate your exploits, and perose in the shade of your laurels.

"Your career, as brilliant as perilous, would from this moment merit for you a distinguished place among those illustrious men of whose splendid deeds antiquity has transmitted us the memory; and you might find, in the bosom of your country and family, a sweet recompence for a hero who has fought only to ensure peace to Europe, and to consolidate the wellbeing, the glory, and the power of France.

"But there are still, citizen general, cares well worthy of you; your heart, which success has not rendered deaf to the cry of suffering humanity, groans, without doubt, at the mere recollection of so many unhappy men who still expect their salvation from France.

"Fifteen millions of Poles, once independent, now the victims of the force of circumstances, fix their eyes on you. They would fain pierce that barrier which separates them from you, to share your dangers, to crown you with new laurels, and to add to all the titles you have acquired, that of 'Father of the Oppressed.'

"Do not lose sight of the fact, citizen general, that this nation is rendered interesting by her misfortunes, and suffers only because she attempted to secure her own liberty and independence. You are one of those whose position ought to open to the Poles a way to shake off the odious and degrading yoke which they bear with impatience. You will find, as a French citizen, powerful motives for delivering them from oppression; and your patriotic zeal, seconded by your military talents, will triumph over every obstacle.

"No! As long as France exists, it shall not be said that the Poles were condemned to bear the chains of slavery! If the identity of sentiments, which draw the two nations to each other, did not guarantee this consoling certainty, would not the friendship and confidence we repose in the French obtain for us their fraternal attentions and their powerful support?

"Hasten, citizen general, to make known to the universe, that France considers her glory to consist in protecting the weak, and in assuring the happiness of all the people who claim her protection. Hasten to accomplish our hearts' desires and our hopes; re-establish the balance of power in Europe, in restoring liberty and independence to the nations that have been deprived of them; and so act, that from the centre of Italy to the sources of the Borysthenes, *the people*, repossessed of their rights, may cherish in you the friend of humanity, and respect the conquering warrior!"

Such was the language of emphasis and pedantry that was mistaken by many, at the end of the eighteenth century, for antique energy and republican simplicity. Oginski lived to blush at his having used it.* As

* He adds in a note, "The republican and emphatic style of this letter will surprise no one acquainted with the style of those times, and with the desperate position of the Poles, who could expect help only from France. I avow that, in 1796, I partook in the general enthusiasm for Bonaparte, which was inspired by the military talents of that chief of the army of Italy—talents which even his enemies cannot dispute. My enthusiasm, and still more my hopes, diminished when he made himself consul for life; and they abandoned me altogether when he proclaimed himself Emperor of the French."—See *Mémoires*.

for Bonaparte, he resorted to the same style both in speaking and writing, and even down to a much later period; but he used it merely as a sort of freemasonry pass or token with those with whom it was current, and whose confidence and goodwill he was anxious to cultivate. The romance of that extraordinary man never seems to have extended beyond an anomalous admiration of the vague and vapoury Ossian; and nothing could well be less romantic than his reply to the Polish patriot's highflown address. This answer was a verbal one, and conveyed to Oginski by Sulkowsky, an aide-de-camp of Bonaparte, who was sent on a mission to Constantinople, and who was afterwards killed in Egypt. "What can I promise?" said Bonaparte thoughtfully, after perusing the epistle. "Tell your countryman that I love and esteem the Poles. That the partition of Poland is an act of iniquity which cannot be long endured; that, after having terminated the war in Italy, I will go myself, at the head of my brave troops, and force Russia to give up Poland; *but, tell them also, that the Poles must not rely too much upon foreign assistance; that they must take up arms; annoy the Russians by every means in their power; and keep up communications with the disaffected in the interior.* All the fine words which are told them at Constantinople will come to nothing; I am acquainted with the diplomatic jargon and the indolence of the Turks. A nation oppressed by its neighbours can raise itself only by its own arms."

The Turks, of course, did nothing for the Poles, and their hopes were concentrated in the French; but when *they*, who were to carry their victorious arms beyond the Vistula, signed the treaty of peace of Campo-Formio, without even a mention of Poland, the last particle of those hopes might have died within them. A vast number of his companions satisfied themselves with commands in Bonaparte's army; but Oginski had other views and feelings; and seeing no prospect of being useful to his country by continuing a wanderer, he turned his thoughts towards home. His wife's connexions and interest procured the King of Prussia's leave for him and his family to reside in Prussian Poland.

He had closed his political correspondence, convinced that henceforth it could only endanger himself and others, and he lived tranquilly under the Prussian government until 1802, when the young Emperor Alexander was graciously pleased to permit his passing the Russian frontier as a Lithuanian subject of Russia; and after taking the oath of allegiance at Grodno, Count Oginski went on to St. Petersburg, where he certainly obtained greater benefits for his country than he would have done elsewhere. But it was at Minsk,* in White Russia, and not at St. Petersburg, that the noble Pole was first presented to the Emperor Alexander, who, from that moment, became the object of his admiration, affection, and respect. Few men have been more

* A ball was given to the emperor while at Minsk. He danced with all the ladies who were presented to him, and, in the course of the evening, made the following remark, which honours his head and his heart, to Count Oginski: "I see, with the greatest pleasure, that prejudices begin to disappear, even in this country, and that citizens' wives and daughters are admitted into the assemblies with ladies of the highest nobility. In my German provinces—in Livonia and Courland, the custom has long existed; but here it is an agreeable surprise," &c. —Vol. ii., p. 330.

enthusiastically praised, and more bitterly blamed, during their lifetime, than Alexander. Some few years are now past since he met his premature end on the shores of the Black Sea; and hate, outliving love, is still busy with his name. For ourselves, we believe the character drawn by Oginski to be mainly correct, notwithstanding the calumnies of his opponents, the horrid insinuations of Bonaparte, and the feelings of jealousy which his interference in the affairs of other countries of late years roused against him. "Tender-hearted, pleasing, accomplished, and well-disposed; a certain weakness and indecision in the earlier, a glare of vanity, and a tinge of mysticism in the latter years of his life, led him into errors with regard to foreign politics; but as a sovereign of Russia, his memory will remain in high honour among his people, and he will ever be esteemed as one of the greatest benefactors of his country."

"But," says the warm-hearted Polish noble, "besides all that I owed the Emperor Alexander personally, I was indebted to him, as a Pole, for the protection he granted to my countrymen, the generous confidence he reposed in them, the *encouragement of national education* in Poland, and, lastly, the revival of my country's name among the states of Europe."

Uninstructed by the past, and still unacquainted with the character of the French or Bonaparte, the Poles again reposed their hopes in them, when they carried their arms into Prussia, and struck a fatal blow, at Jena. Oginski was then at Wilna, and had opportunities of seeing the manœuvres of the French agents, who scattered themselves about Russian-Poland, exciting the people to rise against the Emperor Alexander, and announcing the arrival of Kosciutzko in the van of Bonaparte's army. Kosciutzko had, indeed, been invited by Napoleon to follow him in this campaign; but the Polish patriot, who *did know* his man, excused himself on the plea of bad health. Oginski attempted, but with indifferent success, to stem the popular torrent, which ran very generally in favour of the French. "By my opinions," says he, "I offended many of my countrymen, who swore only by Napoleon; and yet a few days justified my assertions. It is true, many persons in the society of Wilna thought as I did, and supported their opinions, by the coldness and distance Kosciutzko had openly shown to all the promises of Napoleon; still, however, there is no doubt that twelve thousand inhabitants of Wolhynia and Lithuania crossed the frontier to join the Polish legions; and if the French army had passed the Niemen to penetrate into Lithuania, it is probable, that all capable of bearing arms, would have readily joined it." It will immediately be seen what would have been their fate had they done so.

When Napoleon arrived at Posen the enthusiasm of the Poles was at its height; but the thirty-seventh bulletin, issued from his headquarters, was not calculated to indulge it. This bulletin, "remarkable for that oracular language which he often assumed for the purpose of veiling his designs," was a needless mystification. "Shall the throne of Poland be restored; shall this great nation start again into existence? God alone, who holds in his hands the threads of events, can resolve this great political problem; but certainly there never was a period—so important and so full of interest." But

Napoleon resolved the problem himself, and in a mode which never ought to be forgotten! He not only guaranteed to Alexander the share of Poland he already possessed, but, at their memorable meeting at Tilsit, offered to enlarge it by the addition of Warsaw and the whole of Prussian Poland. This *generous* offer was declined by Alexander, and it was then that Bonaparte formed the duchy of Warsaw, and gave it to the King of Saxony. "Although the partisans of Napoleon have thrown a doubt over this offer," says Oginski, in whom, as a man of honour in all circumstances, we are inclined to place great confidence, "still it is not the less true that the proposition was made; and of this I have since had the most authentic proofs under my own eyes. The district of Byalistok, a part of the Prusso-Polish provinces conquered, with a population of several hundred thousand inhabitants, was, however, given by Napoleon and accepted by Alexander. But this does not complete the iniquity, the infamy, of the French towards the Poles.

"The news of the treaty filled Wilna and the Polish provinces subjected to Russia with astonishment, and carried consternation into families, of which many individuals were compromised. Many young men, who with too great precipitation had quitted Lithuania and Wolhynia, to join the Polish army, had exposed their relations and friends left behind, to inquiries and persecutions. All those who only waited for the passing of the Niemen, by the armies under the orders of Napoleon, were disappointed. The treaty of Tilsit was regarded as the grave of all the hopes that had been conceived of the re-establishment of Poland; and from that period the confidence in Napoleon was considerably weakened throughout the provinces belonging to Russia. But it was yet worse, when after the treaty of Tilsit, the conferences at Erfurt brought the two emperors in closer contact, when ambassadors were reciprocally sent to Paris and Petersburg, they began to nourish those amicable relations, by communications which left to the two respective courts, nothing unrevealed, that might endanger the interior security of their states. Many of the inhabitants of Wolhynia and Lithuania, were then denounced to Russia by the very men (the insidious agents of France) who had instigated them to imprudent revolt! Happily for the Poles, the Emperor Alexander was not disposed to severity; but the more they appreciated his generous conduct, the less would they be disposed, should the case occur a second time, to be seduced by the agents of a government, who sacrificed as victims, those of whom they no longer stood in need."*

During this war of 1806, which ended in a peace so inauspicious to her, Poland had suffered most severely. According to the Baron Uklanski, the French army preyed upon her very vitals, and the expenses of maintaining thirty thousand national troops, and answering to other incidental contributions, far exceeded the revenues of the unhappy country. "All the live stock, fell a prey to French requisitions; cows, oxen, sheep, geese, turkeys, and the very guinea-pigs, were devoured by them." Nor did the formation of the duchy of Warsaw entirely answer to the expectations and desires of that portion of the Poles who were thus withdrawn from the domination of Prussia. Still adhering to his old system, Napoleon

* Oginski, vol. ii., pp. 345, 346.

employed partisans and emissaries to cajole them with brighter hopes, that what he could not do now, should be done for them when circumstances favoured. Some important benefits were however conferred. The King of Saxony, his faithful ally, whom Bonaparte aggrandized with the Duchy of Warsaw, was the very prince who had been called by them to succeed to their throne, when by the constitution of May, 1791, the election of kings was abolished; and as such he was welcome to the Poles. The constitutional statute drawn up by a commission named by Bonaparte, and signed by him at Dresden on the 22d of July, 1807, contained the following clauses:

I. The religion of the state was declared to be the Roman catholic; but liberty of worship was guaranteed to all, and *all* were recognised as equal, in the eyes of the law.

The slavery of the peasants was abolished!

The dietines, combined after a new process, with departmental assemblies, elected a diet, which was divided into two chambers.

The king possessed the *initiative* in laws; the nomination of the senators, of the presidents of the dietines, and even of the presidents of the diets.

The king named also to all employments, civil and military.

The ministers formed a council of state; they could dissolve the diets; they appointed the judiciary order, and the judges exercised their functions for life.

It cannot be denied, that under this system important steps were made towards improvement, and towards the elevation of the long oppressed classes of the Poles to the dignity of men and citizens; and that good was operating in spite of many evils.

"The Poles of the Duchy of Warsaw, had the satisfaction of being governed by a prince who merited their esteem and confidence; of seeing respectable citizens occupy the first posts of the state, and the brave Prince Joseph Poniatowski, at the head of the war department. But too soon did this new duchy (not sufficiently strong to oppose a barrier against Russia and Austria) feel all the weight of her new existence, in the obligation of supporting numerous troops, of contributing to the expenses of the civil list, which was excessively disproportionate to the extent or the population of the country; in being governed in civil matters by the King of Saxony, who was generally loved and esteemed, but whose circumscribed power could never resist the vexations of the military government of Napoleon; in being, in short, borne down, beneath a burden of taxes, which, after a short time, the landholders could not pay, without selling their estates, or giving them up to the administration of the public treasure."*

The Duchy of Warsaw, thus ruled by a prefect king, was eighteen hundred square leagues in extent, was divided into six departments—Posen, Kalisch, Plock, Warsaw, Lomza, and Bydgoszez, and contained a population amounting to about four millions of inhabitants.

The glorious measure of the emancipation of the serfs, which in the eyes of many, will atone for every other evil, was not however confined to the Duchy of Warsaw; its blessings extended to Prussian Poland, where indeed the Prussian government had for some time been as-

* Oginski, tom. ii., p. 347.

siduously employed in bettering the condition of the Polish people, and was on the eve of establishing a number of schools for their instruction, in each department, when Napoleon invaded Prussia. But, it must be remarked, that every political change, effected suddenly, and *à grand coups* (to which Bonaparte was somewhat too much addicted) is sure to carry with it, a dangerous disregard of individual rights, or principles that cannot be acted upon. Thus it happened with his abolition not only that of slavery, but of the task-work of the Polish serfs. "On my estates," complained the Baron Uklanski, "the peasants and colonists hold of me upwards of four thousand acres of arable land, *for which they pay no rent*, but as a compensation *cultivate without wages the grounds which I farm myself;* these *tenements* Bonaparte's constitution assigns them as their property, without allowing the least compensation to the lord, whom of course it robs of more than one-half of his possessions. Is not this glaring injustice? By this frenzied legislature I lose my best grounds, and am under the necessity of cultivating the remainder with hired people. The wages, moreover, owing to the thinness of the population, are twice as high in Poland as in Germany, &c."

The modifications, almost immediately and of necessity made to this order of things were—that the peasantry should not be held as proprietors, but tenants, who, as an equivalent for rent, should work three days in the week for their landlords. About thirteen English acres of ground were allotted to each married peasant, and, besides a cottage, his lord engaged to provide him with two or three cows, a few sheep or goats, a stock of poultry, &c. No longer serfs, they could not be sold with the estates, and at all times they were considered at liberty to transfer their labour elsewhere, and to resign the ground and stock of one master, for those of another. In this manner the nobles were not despoiled, but the aggrieved peasantry were manumitted, and a way prepared for their future improvement.

While these changes were in operation in the portions of Poland under French influence, Count Oginski* was living peacefully under the Russian government in Lithuania, where no changes of any im-

* In 1807 he travelled in Italy for his health. We shall follow him there, for the purpose of relating two or three anecdotes of Napoleon. The Pole arrived at Venice during Bonaparte's visit to that extraordinary city, and was presented, together with many other foreigners, to the conqueror. When his name was announced by one of the chamberlains, Napoleon cried in Italian, "Ah, bravo! it is a Pole!" After thanking Oginski for his visit, he said, "You are right to choose this country for your travels; I know the taste of the Poles for the fine arts, and no country can suit them better for this, than Italy." Now all this was urbane enough—but his mood changed.

"But are not these the decorations of the Polish order of the White Eagle?" inquired he hastily, looking at and even touching the insignia of the old national order, which Oginski wore; and without waiting for a reply, he added, "I am astonished that the Emperor Alexander should allow his subjects to wear it!" Oginski answered, that the emperor had not been inclined to deprive the Poles of this last remembrance of their political existence, and added, that Alexander uniformly endeavoured to please the Poles, to soften their misfortunes, and gain their affections. Napoleon frowned, and turning abruptly from him, thus addressed the Prince W——: "As for you, you are a Russian—you are right to travel in Italy and enjoy the sun, for that luminary is a stranger to your country." Many others present at this singular interview were treated with equal

portance took place, the condition of the peasantry remaining much as it had ever been, and perfectly assimilating itself to that of the Russian serfs. Oginski, at the invitation of Prince Kurakin, the the Russian minister, went to Paris after the peace of Schœnbrunn, where he saw the prefect-kings and their queens doing homage to the great umpire. He saw also at reviews the soldiers of France, Italy, Holland, Germany, Spain, and Portugal defiling before Napoleon; and also, how thoroughly the nationality of all was sacrificed to the views of one! The count returned to Wilna, and his noble countrymen having intrusted him with a memorial against some vexations of the local government of Lithuania, he repaired to Petersburg, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and promised redress. But Alexander had other subjects of deep interest in his mind. The frowning shadow of Napoleon was already approaching him, and he consulted with Oginski who was so recently from the French capital. The part of the conferences which more particularly regarded our subject, Poland, was, that the emperor warned Oginski and his countrymen, not to allow themselves to be deluded by Bonaparte's cajoleries; and his promise that he would render them a more substantial good, than ever Napoleon would do or contemplate. The count returned to Wilna, but not before receiving an imperial despatch, assenting to the demands of the Lithuanians, and his own appointment to be privy councillor and senator of Russia. The noble Pole then returned to Paris, where he had left his family. On his reappearance at the Tuileries, he was met by Napoleon with increased coldness. "*Vous êtes senateur de Russie; mais vous êtes Polonais, n'est-ce pas?*" was his abrupt address, which he pronounced in a careless manner, and to which, as was his wont, he waited for no reply. Duroc was charged with the commission to feel the political pulse of Oginski, and in a curious conversation, he expressed his regret that he should have accepted place and dignity from Alexander, instead of attaching himself to Napoleon, who had ulterior views in favour of Poland. Oginski's replies were those of a loyal, spirited, and intelligent man. He had lost that hope which had so long cheered him, and as Poland could not be restored to her independence, he professed he could not see much difference between an inhabitant of the duchy of Warsaw under Napoleon, and a Lithuanian under Alexander—in short he regarded the Polish duchy as nothing but a French province, in spite of its semblance of a representative government. Duroc, who seems to have gone too far, for the purposes of his master, treated the idea of the re-establishment of Poland as an independent state, as a chimerical project, and a dream that could never be realized; and he founded his prophecy on the anarchy of the past.

It cannot be denied that Oginski did well in remaining attached to

politeness. To an Italian nobleman, but lately a widower, he observed, "You are in mourning?—for your wife—she did well to die, for she was an *intrigante*." To a deputation of Venetian Jews, who had just contributed a million of livres towards the expenses of his reception, he said in a severe tone, "You are Jews, and you are on sufferance in my States, because I tolerate all religions; but take care—don't play the part of usurers; I don't like usurers; I have them hanged!" After this alarming expression of his antipathies, he again addressed Oginski. "It is singular that I meet these Jews wherever I go; but there are nowhere else so many as among you in Poland!"

the Emperor Alexander; but he gained little credit among his countrymen at Paris, who still saw, and in no remote perspective, the crown of reunited Poland restored to more than its ancient splendour by the sword of Napoleon. Indeed, at the time, through all the varnish of diplomacy and compliment, it was evident a rupture was preparing by France; and with this conviction Oginski hastened to give his sovereign the benefit of his advice. On his arrival at Petersburg in April, 1811, the count requested an audience of the emperor. He told Alexander what he thought of Bonaparte's projects. "I am entirely of your opinion," said the emperor, "except in the idea which you attribute to him, of wishing to crush Russia; for he must have good sense enough to know the impossibility of executing any such project." The emperor was well instructed from Paris of the preparations of Napoleon — he believed they were intended against him, though nobody at Petersburg thought so: he recommended a prudent silence, and thought it more advisable rather to await the attack of his rival, whose character he said he now thoroughly knew, than to anticipate him. At the same time he said that for several months he had been making his own military preparations.

The labours of Oginski, Lubecki, Lubomirski, Plater, and other Poles, engaged at Petersburg in drawing up the plan of a constitution, were interrupted by the march of Napoleon's hosts. Here it may be expedient to turn to the movements of that extraordinary man in Poland, to show how he behaved to those whom he had so often deceived already, and what the Poles had to expect from him.*

In the month of June, 1812, the deputies of the Polish diet waited on Bonaparte, then at Wilna, and their president told him in direct terms, that "the interests of his empire, as well as the honour of France, demanded the restoration of Poland." All of his reply that was not a mistification was this: "Were I a Pole, I should think and act as you do; but situated as I am, I have many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform. If your efforts be unanimous, you may hope to make your enemies acknowledge your rights; for in countries like these, so remote and extensive, it is only through the unanimous co-operation of the population that you can expect to

* This is De Pradt's account of the happy condition in which he found the duchy of Warsaw at the opening of the Russian campaign of 1812; and we have ground for believing there is little exaggeration in it:

"No functionary, civil or ecclesiastical, was paid. The army contractors had all fled: we supported the troops as well as we could. The unhappy minister of finance sunk under the burden, and often had to blush at the expedients he was reduced to in order to cajole his victims; for what other name can be given to those who had the boldness to contract with him. Every day fresh supplies were demanded from the city, from the country. The taxes were doubled, but nobody paid them. It was no use squeezing a dried-up and exhausted country! Our troops ran over the duchy in all directions, eating up and destroying, carrying away the peasants and their horses. Every thing was consumed, and our wants continued to increase daily. Private misery was equal to the public distress: the one always follows the other. I was confounded at the difference I found between the real state of Poland and the fancy picture that had been made to me of it: between the hopes that had been conceived and the sad realities that struck my eyes. I had scarcely arrived at Warsaw when all the enchantment vanished. I saw nothing but men ruined and groaning under their miseries."—*Histoire de l'Ambassade en Pologne.*

succeed. I held the same language to you when I first appeared among you; and I must now add, that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and therefore I cannot countenance any movement which might disturb his quiet possession of his present Polish territories."

Now this was all Napoleon would promise to the Poles, even at the moment when their services were required. They had hailed his war with Russia as the advent of their liberty; in the duchy of Warsaw their enthusiasm was unbounded; they fully expected to pass from their state of temporary probation to national independence and glory; they had convoked the general diet, in which the terms "the kingdom of Poland," "the body of the Polish nation," were pronounced with peculiar emphasis; and under the protecting smiles of Bonaparte's own ambassador. M. de Pradt affirms that such language was the result of a formal injunction in his instructions. Had the Duke de Bassano, the minister of foreign affairs, exceeded his orders? had he mistaken his master's sense, and given too great a latitude to the political aspirations of the Poles, or had Napoleon changed his mind after crossing the Niemen? But we scarcely need prosecute the inquiry, having given the conqueror's evasive reply to the deputation of the diet, which cooled the ardour of the Warsavians, and contributed still more to check the Lithuanians, even had they ever been inclined to favour the French with the hopes of freeing themselves from the Russians. Indeed, so far as regards the Lithuanians, the measures adopted were not of a nature to conciliate them; and this probably arose from the weak hopes that Napoleon entertained of being able to revolutionize a country which had been so many years in the peaceful possession of Russia, that an identification of feelings and interests might have ensued to a considerable extent. Before crossing the Niemen, in his order of the day, Napoleon had told his soldiers they were about to enter the enemy's country; and certainly their march in Lithuania proved they came not as friends! "A number of villages were burned to the ground, several noblemen's chateaux were pillaged, provisions and forage forcibly carried off; the corn, still green, was cut for forage; the fields and meadows were devastated; the women were insulted; the Lithuanian peasants maltreated."

Notwithstanding the shameful licence of the French army, they were not generally ill received; and if the cause of Napoleon did not gain many converts among the magnates of the land, and persons of weight and experience, he had no occasion to complain of a dearth of hairbrained youths—of the enthusiastic, the inexperienced, the idle, the dissolute. At Minsk, he was received with some demonstrations of joy, because his officers, of their own accord, or by his advice, had proclaimed the speedy re-establishment of the great ancient Polish kingdom. At Wilna, more than three hundred students of the university left their books, and followed him; here also several nobles of the highest families volunteered their services. Still, however, there reigned a mutual coldness and diffidence between Napoleon and the mass of the Lithuanian nobility; and that man of headlong volition, who had done nothing, who had promised nothing, who had declared Poland to be an enemy's country, while his troops had

treated it as such, was surprised and exasperated because the Lithuanians did not rise *en masse* and proclaim their independence.

The provinces of Podolia and Volhynia, though remote, were important: they remained perfectly quiet, and in fact Lithuania, with the slight exceptions we have mentioned, may be said to have awaited passively the events of that ever memorable campaign, at the termination of which it tranquilly relapsed under the dominion of Russia. The fate of the duchy of Warsaw, where feelings had been so differently excited, was for some time less fortunate. That confined and impoverished state had raised and supported eighty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, and when, after the disastrous affair of the Berezina, Bonaparte reappeared at Warsaw as a fugitive, followed by the disorganized fragments of an annihilated army, and the Russians and Cossacks in his rear, the duchy was called upon for fresh efforts and sacrifices. In his forward march, Napoleon, like a mighty torrent, had carried every thing with him: according to M. de Pradt, he did not leave more than twelve hundred effective men behind him in the duchy; there were not four hundred men in Warsaw, the capital, which was threatened as early as the middle of July, by a Russian corps commanded by General Tormassow. Continual efforts had been in operation ever since the month of May, when Napoleon, travelling to the seat of war, had boasted, in the pride and confidence of his heart, to his applauding Préfet at Metz, that he was going to mount all Poland on horseback; but M. de Pradt, and his other agents and partisans, whether Polish or French, found the country utterly exhausted; nor could they animate the suffering people, or the beggared nobility, even when every day brought the bulletin of a victory, or of some signal success over the Russians. Certain facts were evident, but Napoleon wilfully shut his eyes to them; and it had long been the practice of all those about him to see only what he saw, and to see it in the same manner.

At the commencement of the campaign, public and private misery were at their height, in the duchy of Warsaw; the army it maintained surpassed its means of support; the taxes, enormous as they were, did not suffice for the needs of the state—the army, though it absorbed every thing, was still ill provided; the civil officers of the government were never paid. The continental system which had been enforced for some years—and here Napoleon found one of his grand theories working against himself!—had interrupted the commerce of the country and its exports of grain; and had reduced even the greatest landholders to mendicity.

"Every thing has its price," says M. de Pradt, who saw what the Poles were paying to Bonaparte for vague promises and hopes. "The Poles would willingly have seen the restoration of their country, but they would not acquire it by devastation and absolute ruin. How, indeed, could one for a moment imagine, that a great mass of men should joyfully deprive themselves of all they are worth, to procure a change in a government, under which moreover they had been prospering?

When the fugitive Napoleon, on his passage through Warsaw, said, "The duchy must raise ten thousand Polish Cossacks; a lance and a horse will be enough; they will stop the Russians with that;"

his words, if not excused as insanity, must have been taken as a mockery and an insult. It was scarcely wiser or more considerate in the council of government, a few days after, to decree a levy of from twelve to fifteen thousand irregular horse, and the calling out the *arrière-ban.*

The Poles could not do what was required of them, but they might have asked, where were the eighty thousand of their brethren who had marched to Russia under the banners of Bonaparte; how they and their families should be supported during the horrors of winter, in a country so thoroughly despoiled; how they should make head against the Russians, before whom a confederate army of four hundred thousand men had melted like snow?

On the 7th of February, 1813, the Russians took possession of Warsaw. The grand-ducal administration was dissolved, and a council formed *pro tempore.* This council was composed of Russians and Poles, who continued their functions till the conclusion of the war.

Of the benefits projected, and those conferred on the Poles as a nation by Napoleon, we have seen more than enough; we may leave them to the enjoyment of their gratitude! But if Napoleon had never had the intention of realizing their dreams of national independence, or if he had been foiled by Russia, and disappointed in the Polish people; still it might be expected, he would testify his affection and regard to the gallant Polish troops, who did not desert him in his reverses, who were faithful and brave to the last. He however was scarcely capable of this; for when the Poles, seeing him safe to the banks of the Rhine, and the frontiers of France, thought of returning home, he coldly told their officers they might do as they chose "he had no fault to find with them; they had behaved loyally to him. But whither could they go? Their king, perhaps, had not an asylum for himself. They were at liberty to go home, if such was their intention: two or three thousand men more or less, brave as they were, could be nothing to him. But if they left him, he should have no right to speak for them or for Poland. He was still the most powerful monarch in Europe! Things might change, and if even he were obliged to give them up, they should be mentioned in the next treaty of peace, &c.

In May, 1815, the fate of Poland was once more decided for a time. By the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, the King of Saxony having signed a formal renunciation of that country, the duchy of Warsaw was annexed to the Russian crown, with the exception of the province of Posen, which was restored to Prussia, from whom it had been wrested by Bonaparte. Austria retained Gallitzia, with the salt mines of Wielicza. The city of Cracow was declared independent. The Emperor of Russia was to take the title of "King of Poland."

On the 20th of June, 1815, discharges of artillery at Warsaw announced the re-establishment of the kingdom, and the Emperor Alexander's conciliatory proclamation to the inhabitants of the duchy was read. "Poles," said he, "new ties will thus bind you still closer to a generous nation, which is of kindred origin, of the same great Sclavonian race as your own, and by old connexions worthy of you. A wise constitution and an enduring union will attach you to the fortunes of a great monarchy, too vast to need aggrandizement, and

whose government will never entertain other political rules, than those of impartial justice and of generous ideas. We could not, however, in endeavouring to replace this new link in the chain of European states, consult the interests of Poland alone. We could not favour certain local details appropriated merely to that country, which might not have harmonized with the general interests and the balance of Europe."*

On the 1st of December, 1815, the Emperor Alexander signed at Warsaw the promised constitutional charter for the kingdom of Poland. The Polish general Zaïonczek was named viceroy, with the title of highness. A ministry, composed entirely of Poles, had been already appointed; and lastly an order was given that all the Russian troops should evacuate the new kingdom.

We do not know what degree of hope the Poles may have entertained as to the fulfilment of what they state was a positive promise on the part of Alexander, viz., that the Lithuanian provinces should be incorporated with those of the duchy of Warsaw, into one kingdom; but we have seen that in all these transactions, such a circumstance is not even alluded to. The veteran patriot, Kosciutzko by letter reminded the emperor of this great omission.

"One cause of inquietude alone, checks my joy at the benefits conferred by your majesty on the Poles. I was born a Lithuanian, sire, and I have now but a few years to live; still a veil of uncertainty darkens the fate of my country, and of many other provinces of Poland. I have not forgotten the magnanimous promises which your majesty has given to me and to others of my countrymen upon this point; I do not pretend to hasten the execution of your projects, but I wish to be reassured; one word from you, sire, and I devote the whole remainder of my existence to the service of your imperial and royal majesty. I shall then be sure that all your Polish subjects will have reason to bless you for the benefits you will have conferred on them."

To this letter, it appears that Alexander never replied: and he must have felt pain had he undertaken to show to the single-hearted Polish patriot, how opposed were the interests of Austria and Prussia, the views of his own cabinet, and the whole spirit of Russian diplomacy, to the aspirations of Kosciutzko and his friends.

This melancholy subject is no further connected with Napoleon. It will be well, however, to set down two or three leading facts in relation to the fate of the Poles. The Emperor Alexander, in part

* On the 30th of April, the Emperor Alexander had addressed the following letter, the precursor of the proclamation, to Count Ostrowski, the President of the Polish Senate: "It is with peculiar satisfaction I announce to you that the fate of your country has finally been decided, by the unanimous agreement of the powers assembled in congress. In taking the title of *King of Poland*, I have desired to satisfy the wishes of the nation. The kingdom of Poland will be united to the empire of Russia, by the titles of its own constitution, on which I desire to found the happiness of the country. If the great interest of general repose has not permitted that all the Poles should be reunited under the same sceptre, I have endeavoured at least to soften as much as possible, the rigour of their separation, and to obtain for them every where, all possible enjoyment of their nationality."

through want of inclination, but much more through want of power, did not keep half of the promises he had made to the Polish nation. The constitution he granted scarcely merited the name of one. Still, however, as long as he lived, few overt acts of tyranny occurred in the country, the condition of which rapidly improved; but after his sudden and somewhat mysterious death on the shores of the Black Sea in 1825, the state of affairs was materially changed; the Russians excelled in tyranny and oppression, and the Archduke Constantine, who was nominally only commander-in-chief of the forces, rendered himself so odious to the Poles that a party in Warsaw rose against him in November, 1830, and attempted to assassinate him. The archduke escaped with his life: a most sanguinary warfare ensued, and after an heroic struggle for their independence, Warsaw was retaken by the Russians, and the unhappy Poles were again forced to submit to the yoke which has been made more heavy and more galling than ever.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXII.

1813.

Riots in Hamburg and Lubeck—Attempted suicide of M. Konning—Evacuation of Hamburg—Dissatisfaction at the conduct of General Saint Cyr—The cabinets of Vienna and the Tuileries—First appearance of the Cossacks—Colonel Tettenborn invited to occupy Hamburg—Cordial reception of the Russians—Depredations—Levies of troops—Testimonials of gratitude to Tettenborn—Napoleon's new army—Death of General Morand—Remarks of Napoleon on Vandamme—Bonaparte and Gustavus Adolphus—Junction of the corps of Davoust and Vandamme—Reoccupation of Hamburg by the French—General Hogendorff appointed governor of Hamburg—Exactions and vexatious contributions levied upon Hamburg and Lubeck—Hostages.

A CONSIDERABLE time before Napoleon left Paris to join the army, the bulk of which was in Saxony, partial insurrections occurred in many places. The interior of old France was indeed still in a state of tranquillity, but it was not so in the provinces annexed by force to the extremities of the empire, especially in the north, and in the unfortunate Hanse Towns, for which, since my residence at Hamburg, I have always felt the greatest interest. The intelligence I received was derived from such unquestionable sources, that I can pledge myself for the truth of what I have to state respecting the events which occurred in those provinces at the commencement of 1813; and subsequently, I obtained a confirmation of all the facts communicated by my correspondents, when I was sent to Hamburg by Louis XVIII., in 1815.

M. Steuve, agent from the court of Russia, who lived at Altona, apparently as a private individual, profited by the irritation produced by the measures adopted at Hamburg. His plans were so well arranged, that he was promptly informed of the route of the grand army from Moscow, and the approach of the allied troops. Aided by the knowledge and activity of Sieur Hanft, of Hamburg, M. Steuve profited by the discontent of a people so tyrannically governed, and seized the opportunity for producing an explosion. Between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th of February, 1813, an occurrence, in which the people were concerned, was the signal for a revolt. An in-

BY RAFFET, ENTITLED, "ILS GROGNAIENT, ET LE SUIVAIENT TOUJOURS."

FROM THE COLLECTION OF ATHERTON CURTIS, ESQ.

THE FRENCH ARMY IN POLAND, 1806.

dividual returning to Hamburg by the Altona gate, would not submit to be searched by a fiscal agent, who, in consequence, maltreated him, and wounded him severely. The populace instantly rose, drove away the revenue guard, and set fire to the guard-house. The people also, excited by secret agents, attacked other French posts, where they committed the same excesses. Surprised at this unexpected movement, the French authorities retired to the houses in which they resided. All the respectable inhabitants who were unconnected with the tumult, likewise returned to their homes, and no person appeared out of doors.

General Carra Saint Cyr had the command of Hamburg, after Prince Eckmuhl's departure for the Russian campaign. At the first news of the revolt, he set about packing up his papers ; and Count de Chaban, M. Konning, the prefect of Hamburg, and M. Daubignose, the director of police, followed his example. It was not till about four o'clock in the afternoon that a detachment of Danish hussars arrived at Hamburg, and the populace was then speedily dispersed. All the respectable citizens and men of property assembled the next morning, and adopted means for securing internal tranquillity, so that the Danish troops were enabled to return to Altona. Search was then made for the ringleaders of the disturbance. Many persons were arrested, and a military commission, *ad hoc,* was appointed to try them. The commission, however, condemned only one individual, who, being convicted of being one of the most active rioters, was sentenced to be shot; and the sentence was carried into execution.

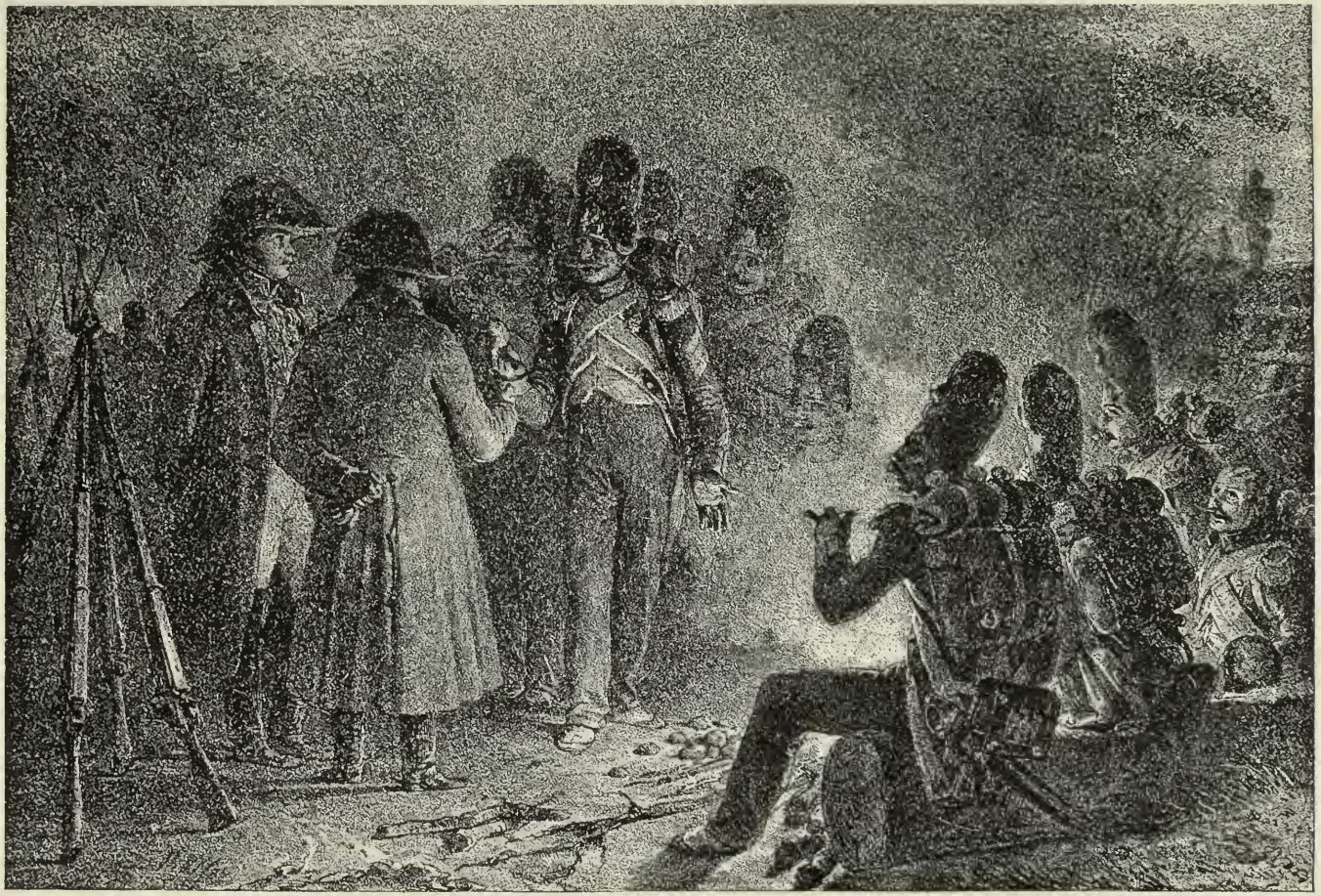
On the 26th of February, a similar commotion took place at Lubeck. Attempts were made to attack the French authorities. The respectable citizens instantly assembled, protected them against outrage, and escorted them in safety to Hamburg, where they arrived on the 27th. The precipitate flight of these persons from Lubeck spread some alarm in Hamburg. The danger was supposed to be greater than it was, because the fugitives were accompanied by a formidable body of troops.

But these were not the only attempts to throw off the yoke of French domination, which had become insupportable. All the left bank of the Elbe was immediately in a state of insurrection, and all the official persons took refuge in Hamburg. During these partial insurrections every thing was neglected. Indecision, weakness, and cupidity were manifested every where. Instead of endeavours to sooth the minds of the people, which had been long exasperated by intolerable tyranny, recourse was had to rigorous measures. The prisons were crowded with a host of persons declared to be suspected, upon the mere representations of the agents of the police. On the 3d of March, a special military commission condemned six householders of Hamburg, and its neighbourhood, to be shot on the glacis, for no other offence than having been led, either by chance or curiosity, to a

part of the town which was the scene of one of the riots. These executions excited equal horror and indignation, and General Carra Saint Cyr was obliged to issue a proclamation for the dissolution of the military commission by whom the men had been sentenced.

The intelligence of the march of the Russian and Prussian troops, who were descending the Elbe, increased the prevailing agitation in Westphalia, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, and all the French troops cantoned between Berlin and Hamburg, including those who occupied the coast of the Baltic, fell back upon Hamburg. General Carra Saint Cyr, and Baron Konning, the prefect of Hamburg, used to go every evening to Altona. The latter, worn out by anxiety and his unsettled state of life, lost his reason; and on his way to Hamburg, on the 5th of May, he attempted to cut his throat with a razor. His valet-de-chambre saved his life by rushing upon him before he had time to execute his design. It was given out that he had broken a blood-vessel, and he was conveyed to Altona, where his wound was cured, and he subsequently recovered from his derangement. M. Konning, who was a native of Holland, was a worthy man, but possessed no decision of character, and but little ability.

At this juncture, exaggerated reports were circulated respecting the approach of a Russian corps. A retreat was immediately ordered, and it was executed on the 12th of March. General Carra Saint Cyr having no money for the troops, helped himself to a hundred thousand francs out of the municipal treasury. He left Hamburg at the head of the troops, and enrolled men of the custom-house service. He was escorted by the town guard, which protected him from the insults of the populace; and the good people of Hamburg never had any visiters of whom they were more happy to be rid. Such is a true statement of the facts which came to my knowledge. This sudden retreat excited Napoleon's indignation. He accused General Saint Cyr of pusillanimity, in an article inserted in the Moniteur, and afterwards copied by his order into all the journals. In fact, had General Saint Cyr been better informed, or less easily alarmed, he might have kept Hamburg, and prevented its temporary occupation by the enemy, to dislodge whom it was necessary to besiege the city two months afterwards. Saint Cyr had three thousand regular troops, and a considerable body of men in the custom-house service. General Morand could have furnished him with five thousand men from Mecklenburg. He might, therefore, not only have kept possession of Hamburg two months longer, but even to the end of the war, as General Lemarrois retained possession of Magdeburg. Had not General Saint Cyr so hastily evacuated the Elbe, he would have been promptly aided by the corps which General Vandamme soon brought from the Wesel, and afterwards by the corps with which Marshal Davoust entered Hamburg.



FROM THE LITHOGRAPH BY RAFFET, ENTITLED, "MON EMPEREUR, C'EST LA PLUS CUITE." FROM THE COLLECTION OF E. B. HOLDEN.

HARDSHIPS IN POLAND.

The events just described occurred before Napoleon quitted Paris. In the month of August all negotiation was broken off with Austria, though that power, still adhering to her fallacious policy, continued to protest fidelity to the cause of the Emperor Napoleon, until the moment when her preparations were completed, and her resolution formed. But if there was duplicity at Vienna, was there not folly, nay blindness, in the cabinet of the Tuileries? Could we reasonably rely upon Austria? She had seen the Russian army pass the Vistula, and advance as far as the Saale, without offering any remonstrance. At that moment a single movement of her troops, a word of declaration, would have prevented every thing. As, therefore, she would not avert the evil when she might have done so with certainty and safety, there must have been singular folly and blindness in the cabinet who saw this conduct and did not understand it.

I now proceed to mention the further misfortunes which occurred in the north of Germany, and particularly at Hamburg. At fifteen leagues east of Hamburg, but within its territory, is a village named Bergdorff. It was in that village that the Cossacks were first seen. Twelve or fifteen hundred of them arrived there under the command of Colonel Tettenborn. But for the retreat of the French troops amounting to three thousand, exclusive of men in the custom-house service, no attempt would have been made upon Hamburg; but the very name of the Cossacks inspired a degree of terror which must be fresh in the recollection of every one. Alarm spread in Hamburg, which being destitute of troops and artillery, and surrounded with dilapidated fortifications, could offer no defence. The senator Bartch and Doctor Know took upon themselves to proceed to Bergdorff, to solicit Colonel Tettenborn to take possession of Hamburg, observing, that they felt assured of his sentiments of moderation, and that they trusted they would grant protection to a city which had immense commercial relations with Russia. Tettenborn did not place reliance on these propositions, because he could not suppose that there had been such a precipitate evacuation; he thought they were merely a snare to entrap him, and refused to accede to them. But a Doctor Von Hess, a Swede, settled in Hamburg some years, and known to Tettenborn as a decided partisan of England and Russia, persuaded the Russian commander to comply with the wishes of the citizens of Hamburg. However Tettenborn consented only on the following conditions: That the old government should be instantly re-established; that a deputation of senators in their old costume should invite him to take possession of Hamburg, which he would enter only as a free and imperial Hanse Town;—that if those conditions were not complied with, he would regard Hamburg as a French town, and consequently hostile. Notwithstanding the real satisfaction with which the senators of Hamburg received those propositions, they were restrained by the fear of a reverse of fortune. They,

however, determined to accept them, thinking that whatever might happen, they could screen themselves by alleging that necessity had driven them to the step they took. They therefore declared their compliance with the conditions, and that night and the following day were occupied in assembling the senate, which had been so long dissolved, and in making the preparations which Tettenborn required.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th of March, a picket of Cossacks, consisting of only forty men, took possession of a town recently flourishing, and containing a population of 120,000, but ruined and reduced to 80,000 inhabitants, by the blessing of being united to the French empire. On the following day, the 18th, Colonel Tettenborn entered Hamburg at the head of a thousand regular and two hundred irregular Cossacks. I have described the military situation of Hamburg when it was evacuated on the 12th of March, and Napoleon's displeasure may be easily conceived. Tettenborn was received with all the honours usually bestowed upon a conqueror. Enthusiasm was almost universal. For several nights the people devoted themselves to rejoicing. The Cossacks were gorged with provisions and drink, and were not a little astonished at the handsome reception they experienced.

It was not until the expiration of three or four days that the people began to perceive the small number of the allied troops. Their amount gradually diminished. On the day after the arrival of the Cossacks, a detachment was sent to Lubeck, where they were received with the same honours as at Hamburg. Other detachments were sent upon different places, and after four days' occupation there remained in Hamburg only seventy out of the twelve hundred Cossacks who had entered on the 18th of March.

The first thing their commander did, was to take possession of the post-office, and the treasuries of the different public offices. All the moveable effects of the French government and its agents were seized and sold. The officers evinced a true Cossack disregard of the rights of private property. Counts Huhn, Bussenitz, and Venechtern, who had joined Tettenborn's staff, rendered themselves conspicuous by plundering the property of M. Peyronnier, the director of the customs, and M. Gonse, the post-master, and not a bottle of wine was left in their cellars. Tettenborn laid hands upon a sum of money, consisting of upwards of 4000 louis in gold, belonging to M. Gonse, which had been lodged with M. Schwartz, a respectable banker in Hamburg, who filled the office of Prussian consul. M. Schwartz, with whom this money had been deposited for the sake of security, had also the care of some valuable jewels belonging to Mesdames Carra Saint Cyr, and Daubignose ; Tettenborn carried off these as well as the money. M. Schwartz remonstrated in his character of Prussian consul, Prussia being the ally of

Russia; but he was considered merely as a banker, and could obtain no redress. Tettenborn, like most of the Cossack chiefs, was nothing but a robber and an executioner; but the agent of Russia was M. Steuve, whose name I have already mentioned.

Orders were speedily given for a levy of troops, both infantry and cavalry, to be called Hanseatic volunteers. A man named Hanft, who had formerly been a butcher, raised at his own expense, a company of foot and one of lancers, of which he took the command. This undertaking, which cost him a hundred and thirty thousand francs, may afford some idea of the attachment of the people of Hamburg to the French government. But money, as well as men, was wanting, and a heavy contribution was imposed to defray the expense of enrolling a number of workmen out of employment, and idlers of various kinds. Voluntary donations were solicited, and enthusiasm was so general, that even servant-maids gave their mites. The sums thus collected were paid into the chest of Tettenborn's staff, and became a prey to dishonest appropriation. With respect to this money, a Sieur Oswald was accused of not having acted with the scrupulous delicacy which Madame de Staël attributes to his namesake in her romance of Corinne.

Between eight and ten thousand men were levied in the Hanse Towns and their environs, the population of which had been so greatly reduced within two years. These undisciplined troops, who had been for the most part levied from the lowest classes of society, committed so many outrages that they soon obtained the surname of the *Cossacks of the Elbe*; and certainly they well deserved it.

Such was the hatred which the French government had inspired in Hamburg that the occupation of Tettenborn was looked upon as a deliverance. On the colonel's departure the senate, anxious to give him a testimonial of gratitude, presented him with the freedom of the city, accompanied by five thousand gold Fredericks, with which he was doubtless much more gratified than with the honour of the citizenship.

The restored senate of Hamburg did not long survive. The people of the Hanse Towns learned, with no small alarm, that the emperor was making immense preparations to fall upon Germany, where his lieutenants could not fail to take cruel revenge on those who had disavowed his authority. Before he quitted Paris on the 15th of April, Napoleon had enrolled under the banners of the army one hundred and eighty thousand men, exclusive of the guards of honour, and it was evident that with such a force he might venture on a great game, and probably win it. Yet the month of April passed away without the occurrence of any event important to the Hanse Towns, the inhabitants of which vacillated between hope and fear. Attacks daily took place between parties of Russian and French troops on the territory between Lunenburg and Bremen. In one of these ren-

counters General Morand was mortally wounded, and was conveyed to Lunenburg. His brother having been taken prisoner in the same engagement, Tettenborn, into whose hands he had fallen, gave him leave on parole, to visit the general; but he arrived in Lunenburg only in time to see him die.

The French having advanced as far as Haarburg, took up their position on the Schwartzenberg, which commands that little town, and the considerable island situated in that part of the river between Haarburg and Hamburg. Being masters of this elevated point, they began to threaten Hamburg, and to attack Haarburg. These attacks were directed by Vandamme, of all our generals the most redoubtable in conquered countries. He was a native of Cassel, in Flanders, and had acquired a high reputation for severity. At the very time when he was attacking Hamburg, Napoleon said of him at Dresden, "If I were to lose Vandamme, I know not what I would give to have him back again; but if I had two such generals I should be obliged to shoot one of them." It must be confessed that one was quite enough.

As soon as he arrived, Vandamme sent to inform Tettenborn, that if he did not immediately liberate the brother and brother-in-law of Morand, both of whom were his prisoners, he would burn Hamburg. Tettenborn replied, that if he resorted to that extremity, he would hang them both on the top of St. Michael's Tower, where he might have a view of them. This energetic answer obliged Vandamme to restrain his fury, or at least to direct it to other objects.

Meanwhile the French forces daily augmented at Haarburg. Vandamme, profiting by the negligence of the new Hanseatic troops, who had the defence of the great islands of the Elbe, attacked them one night in the month of May. This happened to be the very night after the battle of Lutzen, where both sides claimed the victory, and *Te Deum* was sung in the two hostile camps. The advance of the French turned the balance of opinion in favour of Napoleon, who was in fact really the conqueror on a field of battle, celebrated nearly two centuries before by the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. The *Cossacks of the Elbe* could not sustain the shock of the French; Vandamme repulsed the troops who defended Wilhelmsburg, the largest of the two islands, and easily took possession of the smaller one, Fidden, of which the point nearest the right bank of the Elbe is not half a gun-shot distant from Hamburg. The 9th of May was a fatal day to the people of Hamburg. For it was then that Davoust, having formed his junction with Vandamme, appeared at the head of a corps of forty thousand men, destined to reinforce Napoleon's grand army. Hamburg could not hold out against the considerable French force now assembled in its neighbourhood. Tettenborn had, it is true, received a reinforcement of eight hundred Prussians, and two thousand Swedes; but still

what resistance could he offer to Davoust's forty thousand men? Tettenborn did not deceive himself as to the weakness of the allies on this point, or the inutility of attempting to defend the city. He yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants, who represented to him that further resistance must be attended by certain ruin. He accordingly evacuated Hamburg on the 29th of May, taking with him his Hanseatic legions, which had not held out an hour in the islands of the Elbe, and accompanied by the Swedish Doctor Von Hess, whose imprudent advice was the chief cause of all the disasters to which the unfortunate city had been exposed.

Davoust was at Haarburg, where he received the deputies from Hamburg with an appearance of moderation; and by the conditions stipulated at this conference on the 30th of May, a strong detachment of Danish troops occupied Hamburg in the name of the emperor. The French made their entrance the same evening, and occupied the posts as quietly as if they had been merely changing guard. The inhabitants made not a shadow of resistance. Not a drop of blood was shed; not a threat nor an insult was interchanged. This is the truth; but the truth did not suit Napoleon. It was necessary to get up a pretext for revenge, and accordingly recourse was had to a bulletin, which proclaimed to France and Europe that *Hamburg had been taken by main force, with a loss of some hundred men.* But for this imaginary resistance, officially announced, how would it have been possible to justify the spoliations and exactions which ensued?

The Dutch general, Hogendorff, became governor of Hamburg, in lieu of Carra Saint Cyr, who had been confined at Osnabruck since his precipitate retreat. General Hogendorff had been created one of the emperor's aides-de-camp; but he was neither a Rapp, a Lauriston, nor a Duroc. The following measures were adopted at Hamburg: The inhabitants were required to pay all the arrears due to the different public offices, during the seventy days that the French had been absent; and likewise all that would have been paid to the troops of the garrison, had they remained in Hamburg. Payment was also demanded of the arrears for the quartering of troops who were fifty leagues off. However, some of the heads of the government departments, who saw and understood the new situation of the French at Hamburg, did not enforce these unjust and vexatious measures. The duties on registrations were reduced. M. Peyronnier, director of the customs, aware of the peculiar difficulty of his situation, in a country where the customs were held in abhorrence, observed great caution and moderation in collecting the duties. Personal examination, which is so revolting and indecorous, especially with respect to females, was suppressed. But these modifications did not proceed from the highest quarter; they were due to the good sense of the subordinate agents,

who plainly saw that if the empire was to fall, it would not be owing to little infractions in the laws of proscription against coffee and rhubarb.

If the custom-house regulations became less vexatious to the inhabitants of Hamburg, it was not the same with the business of the post-office. The old manœuvres of that department were resumed more actively than ever. Letters were opened without the least reserve, and all the old post-office clerks, who were initiated in these scandalous proceedings were recalled. With the exception of the registrations and the customs, the inquisitorial system, which had so long oppressed the Hanse Towns, was renewed ; and yet the delegates of the French government were the first to cry out, "The people of Hamburg are traitors to Napoleon: for, in spite of all the blessings he has conferred upon them, they do not say with the Latin poet, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*"

But all that passed was trifling in comparison with what was to come. On the 18th of June was published an imperial decree, dated the 8th of the same month, by virtue of which were to be reaped the fruits of the official falsehood contained in the bulletin above mentioned. To expiate the crime of rebellion, Hamburg was required to pay an extraordinary contribution of forty-eight millions of francs; and Lubec a contribution of six millions. The enormous sum levied on Hamburg was to be paid in the short space of a month, by six equal instalments, either in money, or bills on respectable houses in Paris. In addition to this, the new prefect of Hamburg made a requisition of grain and provisions of every kind, wines, sail-cloth, masts, pitch, hemp, iron, copper, steel, in short every thing that could be useful for the supply of the army and navy.

But while these exactions were made on property in Hamburg, at Dresden the liberties of individuals and even lives were attacked. On the 15th of June Napoleon, doubtless blinded by the false reports that were laid before him, gave orders for making out a list of the inhabitants of Hamburg who were absent from the city. He allowed them only a fortnight to return home, an interval too short to enable some of them to come from the places where they had taken refuge. They consequently remained absent beyond the given time. Victims were indispensable: but assuredly it was not Bonaparte who conceived the idea of hostages to answer for the men whom prudence kept absent. Of this charge I can clear his memory. The hostages were, however, taken, and were declared to be also responsible for the payment of the contribution of forty-eight millions. In Hamburg they were selected from among the most respectable and wealthy men in the city: some of them far advanced in age. They were conveyed to the old castle of Haarburg, on the left bank of the Elbe; and these men, who had been accustomed to all the comforts of life, were deprived

R. del.

NAPOLÉON A LUTZEN.

NAPOLEON AT LUTZEN

M THE LITHOGRAPH BY RAFFET, IN THE COLLECTION OF ATHERTON CURTIS, ESQ.

« VIVE L'EMPEREUR!» LÜTZEN. 1813.

even of necessaries, and had only straw to lie on. The hostages from Lubeck were taken to Hamburg: they were placed between decks on board of an old ship in the port: this was a worthy imitation of the prison ships of England. On the 24th of July there was issued a decree, which was published in the Hamburg Correspondent of the 27th. This decree consisted merely of a proscription list, on which were inscribed the names of some of the wealthiest men in the Hanse Towns, Hanover, and Westphalia.

BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

The following account of the important battle of Lutzen is derived from the interesting narrative of Lord Londonderry, who took an active part in the campaign of 1813.

"Bonaparte, in his eagerness to make a dash on Leipsic, had extended his columns along the line of march; so that, while his advance was close upon Lutzen, his rear had scarcely cleared the deep valley of Grümsbach, on the road from Weissenfels to Leipsic.

"The united armies of the allies, which had crossed the Elbe on the preceding night at Pegau, were thus manœuvring on his right flank, and may be said to have had the choice of time, place, and manner of conducting the attack. The plan was nearly as follows: The enemy occupied in force the villages of Gros-Görschen, Klein-Görschen, Rahno, and Kaya, which lie near each other, somewhat in the form of an irregular square, in the plain between Lutzen and Pegau. The advance of the allies was intended for the purpose of driving the enemy from these villages, and bringing the brunt of the attack on the right of the enemy's position, which appeared to be parallel to the main road from Weissenfels. If the endeavour to turn his right wing should prove successful, the cavalry, it was expected, would have an opportunity of acting with advantage; and the result would have been decisive, inasmuch as the line of communication with the rear would have been cut through. The plain is traversed by the deep channel of a rivulet called the Flossgraben, which was crossed by the whole combined army in small compact columns; and it served as a support to the right after these columns had deployed.

"It was now noon, and some of the Prussian troops had been for thirty-six hours on the march; a halt was therefore ordered behind the heights, about a mile and a half from Gross-Görschen. These heights afforded a view of the enemy's columns in full march towards Leipsic, by the way of Lutzen. The appearance of our battalions disconcerted this design; and their foremost troops, hastily recalled, could be observed retracing their steps, and drawing towards the villages in the centre, against which the main attack was now to be directed. The first line of the assailants was formed by the Prussians under General Blucher, the second by the corps of Russians which had been under the immediate command of Wittgenstein; the Russian guard and grenadiers were in reserve, together with the cavalry of both armies.

After an hour's rest the attack upon the villages was begun; and after a desperate resistance, Rahno and Klein-Görschen (which lie about a cannon-shot to the right and left of Gross-Görschen) were carried by two brigades of Russian infantry under General Ziethen.

"For several hours this success was maintained; and our columns pushed forward, driving the enemy before them beyond Kaya, which was in flames and evacuated by both parties. It was now about six o'clock, p. m., and the allies had gained, by hard fighting, more than a mile of ground. The village of Staarniedal, on the enemy's right wing, was evacuated, but the want of sufficient force prevented the allies from occupying it, although the second line had been brought into action."

Napoleon considered the fate of the day as resting on these villages, and they were ordered by him to be defended to the last extremity.

"By this protracted struggle the issue was, in fact, determined, as it allowed time to bring up General Bertrand's corps in support of the right of the French line; while on the left, the Viceroy of Italy, who had brought back his troops almost from the very gates of Leipsic, was in sufficient force to baffle an effort made by Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, with a corps of Prussian infantry, to turn the enemy's position by its left flank. Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg failed altogether, for instead of outflanking the enemy, he was himself outflanked, and kept his place in the line only by an exertion of the greatest bravery.

"This was the state of things when the day closed: doubtful and hard-earned success in the centre was counterbalanced by the threatening aspect of both wings of the enemy's army, which was steadily advancing, while no adequate force could be brought forward to resist them, formidable as they were both from numbers and from the comparative freshness of their troops: it thus became necessary to give up the point to which the attacks of the morning had been directed."

Before the allied troops were drawn off a gallant effort was made.

"As soon as the darkness of night afforded a cover to the attempt, the whole force of cavalry, which had scarcely been engaged at all during the day, was ordered forward with the hope of effecting a surprise, and driving the enemy from his ground at the moment when he thought himself secure in its occupation."

This bold attempt, for several reasons, did not succeed.

"Our cavalry were soon dispersed in all directions, and the allies were not only unsuccessful in their immediate object, but lost the services of their cavalry at the critical moment when it became necessary to withdraw their columns in the very front of a daring and successful enemy. The retreat was effected early in the morning of the 3d of May, upon Borne and Altenburg. Precautionary measures were immediately adopted to protect the allied army from being hurried across the Elbe. Throughout the day (2d of May) the allies certainly had an advantage; but the appearance of the viceroy, when there were no more reinforcements to bring up, changed the face of things. Night came on before any advantage was reaped, and the allies remained on the field of battle. It was observed, too, and the fact was of some importance, that the greater part of the enemy's corps actually engaged were German troops,

H. Vernet p.

LA REDOUTE DE KABRUNN

THE REDOUBT AT KABRUNN

THE REDOUBT OF KABRUNN.

The brave Captain Chambure commanded a very select troop called the *Compagnie Franche*, or *Les Enfans perdus.*

On the attack of the advanced guard, Frioul, whom the enemy secured, Chambure flew to his assistance, threw himself into the redoubt, and cut the Russians in pieces,—not one escaped,—for those who avoided the bayonet, fell under the fire of the battalions conducted by Clamon and Dubowski.

A lieutenant, Connard, shewed extraordinary coolness on this occasion, a ball having shattered his shoulder he continued to fight, throwing himself into the hottest part of the battle. Chambure observing this, said, "You are wounded, your place is not here; go, and tell the General we are in the redoubt." "Captain," answered the lieutenant, "I have still my right arm; you have only the left!" And with this he re-entered the battle.

Chambure, at the head of his intrepid company, and in the middle of a foggy night, glided from tree to tree along the avenue of Langfuhr, and approached the Russians without being perceived. He leaped at once into their works, killed numbers of the enemy, and pursued the remainder even to Kabrunn.

At this place he wrote as follows to the Prince of Wurtemberg:—

"Prince, your bombs have disturbed my sleep. I have resolved to make a sortie and spike the mortars which threw them. Experience shall teach you, Prince, that it is dangerous to rouse the sleeping lion.

"Minuit. Nov. 6, 1813." "Aug de Chambure."

Westphalian and Bavarian. Some of the more sanguine calculators indulged an expectation, that these would lay down their arms, but all accounts agreed that they fought with most desperate valour."

With respect to comparative force, Lord Londonderry says—

"The most probable conclusion at which I could arrive was, that Bonaparte had brought up about 110,000 men, the viceroy 30,000, with 2500 cavalry, and 1300 artillery; making about 144,000 men. The French infantry was good, and the artillery well served; but they had no flying artillery, and very little cavalry. As to the allied troops engaged, the corps of Wittgenstein, D'Yorck, Blucher, and Winzingerode, would amount to nearly 60,000, including 20,000 cavalry: to these we must add 9000 under Bulow, 10,000 with Miloradovitch, and General Massenbourg's division of about 25,000. I had, however, reason to believe that not more than 20,000 Russians, and 50,000 Prussians, were engaged. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded did not fall short of 10,000 men, amongst whom were some names of note. Prince Leopold of Hesse Hombourg was unfortunately killed; the Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and the deservedly celebrated Prussian General Scharnhorst (whose services in organizing the landwehr had been so conspicuous), were amongst the wounded. The prince died the next day at Pegau; the general lingered till the 28th of June. General Blucher himself received a slight wound. Both the allied sovereigns (the King of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander) displayed the greatest courage. Not a single piece of artillery was lost, and but few prisoners were taken. Several of the enemy's guns and tumbrels, with about six or eight hundred prisoners, were carried off as the trophies of the day."

The effect, however, of this battle, and of the advance movements of General Sebastiani and Marshal Davoust was, that the allies were obliged to abandon the line of the Elbe; nor were their affairs fully retrieved until the decisive battle of Leipsic.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

1813.

Napoleon's second visit to Dresden—Battle of Bautzen—The congress at Prague — Napoleon ill advised — Battle of Vittoria — General Moreau — Rupture of the conferences at Prague—Defection of Jomini—Battles of Dresden and Leipsic—Account of the death of Duroc—An interrupted conversation resumed a year after — Particulars respecting Poniatowski — His extraordinary courage and death—His monument at Leipzic, and tomb in the cathedral of Warsaw.

On the 2d of May Napoleon won the battle of Lutzen. A week after he was at Dresden, not as on his departure for the Russian campaign, like the sovereign of the west, surrounded by his mighty vassals: he was now in the capital of the only one of the monarchs of his creation who remained faithful to the French cause, and whose good faith eventually cost him half of his dominions. The emperor staid only ten days in Dresden, and then went in pursuit of the Russian army, which he came up with on the 19th, at Bautzen. This battle, which was followed on the two succeeding days by the battles of Wurtchen and Ochkirchen, may be said to have lasted three days—a sufficient proof that it was obstinately disputed. It ended in favour of Napoleon; but he and France paid dearly for it: while General Kirschner and Duroc were talking together, the former was killed by a cannon-ball, which mortally wounded the latter in the abdomen.

The moment had now arrived for Austria to prove whether or not she intended entirely to desert the cause of Napoleon. All her amicable demonstrations were limited to an offer of her intervention in opening negotiations with Russia. Accordingly, on the 4th of June, an armistice was concluded at Plesswitz, which was to last till the 8th of July, and was finally prolonged to the 10th of August.

The first overtures after the conclusion of the armistice of Plesswitz, determined the assembling of a congress at Prague. It was reported at the time, that the allies demanded the restoration of all they had lost since 1805; that is to say, since the campaign of Ulm. In this demand Holland and the Hanse Towns, which had become French provinces, were comprehended. But we should still have retained the Rhine, Belgium, Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy. The battle of Vittoria, which placed the whole of Spain at the disposal of the English, the

FROM THE PAINTING BY JACQUES-LUC BARBIER-WALBONNE, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES. ENGRAVED BY CHARLES STATI

JEAN-VICTOR MOREAU.

retreat of Suchet upon the Ebro,* the fear of seeing the army of Spain annihilated, were enough to alter the opinions of those councillors who still recommended war. Notwithstanding Napoleon's opposition, and his innate disposition to acquire glory by his victories, probably he would not have been inaccessible to the reiterated representations of sensible men who loved their country. France, therefore, has to reproach his advisers. At this juncture General Moreau arrived; it has been said that he came at the solicitation of Bernadotte. This is neither true nor probable. In the first place, there never was any intimacy between Bernadotte and Moreau; and, in the next, how can it be imagined that Bernadotte wished to see Moreau emperor! But this question is at once put at rest by the fact, that in the interview at Abo, the emperor of Russia hinted to Bernadotte the possibility of his succeeding Napoleon. It was generally reported at the time that the French princes of the house of Bourbon had made overtures to Moreau through the medium of General Willot, who had been proscribed on the 18th Fructidor; and I have since learned from an authentic source, that General Moreau, who was then at Baltimore, refused to support the Bourbon cause. Moreau yielded only to his desire of being revenged on Napoleon; and he found death where he could not find glory.†

At the end of July the proceedings of the congress at Prague were no further advanced than at the time of its assembling. Far from cheering the French with the prospect of a peace, the emperor made a journey to Mentz; the empress went there to see him, and returned to Paris immediately after the emperor's departure. Napoleon went back to Dresden, and the armistice not being renewed, it died a natural death on the 17th of August, the day appointed for its expiration. A fatal event immediately followed the rupture of the conferences. On the 17th of August, Austria, wishing to gain by war, as she had before gained by alliances, declared that she would unite her forces with those of the allies. On the very opening of this disastrous campaign, General Jomini went over to the enemy. Jomini belonged to the staff of the unfortunate Marshal Ney, who was beginning to execute, with his wonted ability, the orders he had received. The extraordinary conduct of Jomini excited great astonishment. Public opinion has pronounced judgment upon him.

The first actions were the battle of Dresden, which took place seven days after the rupture of the armistice, and the battle in

* The news of this decisive battle increased the difficulty of the French plenipotentiaries at Prague, and raised the claims of the allies. It also shook the confidence of those who remained faithful to us.

† Having mentioned the name of Moreau, I may take this opportunity of correcting an error into which I fell while speaking of General Lajollais in connexion with the conspiracy of Georges, &c. Some papers have fallen into my hands, proving beyond a doubt that General Lajollais was not an accomplice in the conspiracy.

which Vandamme was defeated, and which rendered the victory of Dresden unavailing. I have already mentioned that Moreau was killed at Dresden.* Bavaria was no sooner rid of the French troops than she raised the mask and ranged herself among our enemies. In October the loss of the battle of Leipsic decided the fate of France. The Saxon army, which had long remained faithful to us, went over to the enemy during the battle. Prince Poniatowski perished at the battle of Leipsic in an attempt to pass the Elster.

I will take this opportunity of relating what I know respecting the death of two men who were both deeply and deservedly regretted—Duroc and Poniatowski. Napoleon lamented Duroc, chiefly because he was very useful to him. He, however, wished to make a parade of sensibility, and, after having arranged the tragical scene of Duroc's death, he ordered a picture to be painted, to transmit the recollection of the event to posterity; with this view a suitable story was drawn up for a bulletin.

* The following is a contemporary account of the death of Moreau, whose military fame once rivalled that of Bonaparte. It is taken from a letter written by a British officer, and dated Toplitz, September 4th, 1813:

"General Moreau died yesterday. He was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia behind a Prussian battery to which two French batteries were answering, one in front and the other in flank, and Lord Cathcart and Sir R. Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg to pieces. He gave a deep groan at first, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and called for a cigar. They bore him off the field on a litter made of Cossacks' pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which, however, was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, after just binding up his wounds, to remove him further off to the emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him that he must deprive him of the other leg, he observed, without showing any pain or peevishness, but in the calmest manner, that had he known that before his other was cut off, he should have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him was covered with nothing but wet straw, and a cloak drenched through with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day. They now placed more cloaks over him, and laid him more comfortably in a good litter, in which he was carried to Dippoldeswalde; but long before his arrival there he was soaked through and through. He was brought, however, safely to Laun, where he seemed to be going on well, till a long conference which took place between him and three or four of the allied generals, by which he was completely exhausted. Soon after this he became extremely sick, and hourly grew worse. Through the whole of his sufferings he bore his fate with heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared to those with whom he conversed to endure but little pain, so calm and so extremely composed was he. He died at six o'clock yesterday morning."—*Editor.*

The following letter from General Moreau to his wife, after receiving his mortal wound, has been kindly communicated to the Editor by Sir J. Philippart:

"Ma chère amie,—A la bataille de Dresde, il y a trois jours, j'ai eu les deux jambes emportées d'un boulet de canon. Ce coquin de Bonaparte est toujours heureux. On m'a fait l'amputation aussi bien que possible. Quoique l'armée ait fait un mouvement retrograde, ce n'est nullement par revers, mais pour se rapprocher du Général Blucher. Excuse mon grifonage; je t'aime et t'embrasse de tout mon cœur. Je charge Rapatel de finir."—V. M.

This bulletin contained a highflown account of the loss the emperor had sustained; and the following set phrases were put into the mouth of the dying general: "My life has been devoted to your service, and I regret its loss because it might yet be useful to you. Yes, sire, we shall one day meet again; but it will be thirty years hence, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of your country. I have lived like an honourable man, and have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave behind me a daughter; your majesty will be a father to her." But there is not one word of truth in the bulletin account of Duroc's death. The words which he is said to have uttered in his last moments were invented like those attributed to Desaix, after the battle of Marengo. I suppose Napoleon borrowed from Homer the idea of making his heroes deliver speeches when at the point of death. The fact is, Duroc suffered the most excruciating agony, and under such circumstances a man is not likely to be very eloquent, or, indeed, inclined to speak much. I remember reading at the time a letter which came by an estafette; it was written by an individual who accompanied the emperor, and was addressed to a minister. The writer desires his friend not to place any reliance on the official account of Napoleon's visit to Duroc. He added, that the latter, being at the moment in great suffering, and finding that the emperor prolonged his visit, turned impatiently on his left side, and said to the emperor, motioning him with his right hand to withdraw, "Ah, sire, leave me to die quietly."

I will here mention a fact which occurred before Duroc's departure for the campaign of 1812. I used often to visit him at the Pavillon Marsan,* where he lodged. One forenoon, when I had been waiting for him a few minutes, he came from the emperor's apartments, where he had been engaged in the usual business. He was in his court-dress. As soon as he entered, he pulled off his coat and hat, and laid them aside:— "I have just had a conversation with the emperor about you," said he. "Say nothing to any body. Have patience, and you will be"..... He had no sooner uttered these words, than a footman entered to inform him that the emperor wished to see him immediately. "Well," said Duroc, "I must go." No sooner was the servant gone, than Duroc stamped violently on the floor, and exclaimed, "That ..... never leaves me a moment's rest. If he finds I have five minutes to myself in the course of the morning, he is sure to send for me." He then put on his coat, and returned to the emperor, saying, "Another time you shall hear what I have to tell you."

From that time I did not see Duroc until the month of January, 1813. He was constantly absent from Paris, and did not return until the end of 1812. He was much affected at the

* In the palace of the Tuileries.—*Editor.*

result of the campaign, but his confidence in Napoleon's genius kept up his spirits. I turned the conversation from this subject, and reminded him of his promise to tell me what had passed between the emperor and himself relative to me. "You shall hear," said he. "The emperor and I had been playing at billiards, and, between ourselves, he plays very badly. He is nothing at a game which depends on skill. While negligently rolling his balls about, he muttered these words: 'Do you ever see Bourrienne now?"—'Yes, sire, he sometimes dines with me on diplomatic reception-days, and he looks so droll in his court-dress, of Lyons manufacture, that you would laugh if you saw him.'—'What does he say respecting the new regulation for the court-dresses?'—'I confess, he says it is very ridiculous; that it will have no other result than to enable the Lyons manufacturers to get rid of their old-fashioned goods; that forced innovations on the customs of a nation are never successful.'—'Oh, that is always the way with Bourrienne; he is never pleased with any thing.'—'Certainly, sire, he is apt to grumble; but he says what he thinks.'—'Do you know, Duroc, he served me very well at Hamburg. He raised a good deal of money for me. He is a man who understands business. I will not leave him unemployed. Time must hang heavily on his hands. I will see what I can do for him. He has many enemies.'—'And who has not, sire?'—'Many complaints against him were transmitted to me from Hamburg; but the letter which he wrote to me in his justification, opened my eyes, and I begin to think that Savary had good motives for defending him. Endeavours are made to dissuade me from employing him; but I shall, nevertheless, do so at last. I remember that it was he who first informed me of the near approach of the war which we are now engaged in. I forget all that has been said against him for the last two years, and as soon as peace is concluded, and I am at leisure, I will think of him.'"

After relating to me this conversation, Duroc said, "You must, of course, feel assured that I said all I think of you, and I will take an opportunity of reminding him of you. But we must be patient. Adieu, my dear friend; we must set off speedily, and Heaven knows when we shall be back again!" I wished him a successful campaign, and a speedy return. Alas! I was doomed to see my excellent friend only once again.

Next to the death of Duroc, the loss most sincerely regretted, during the campaign of 1813, was Prince Poniatowski. Joseph Poniatowski, nephew of Stanislas Augustus, King of Poland, was born at Warsaw, on the 7th of May, 1763. At an early age he was remarkable for his patriotic spirit; but his uncle's influence gave him an apparent irresolution, which rendered him suspected by some of the parties in Poland. After his uncle had acceded to the confederation of Targowitz, Poniatowski left the service, accompanied by most of his principal officers. But

when, in 1794, the Poles endeavoured to repulse the Russians, he again repaired to the Polish camp, and entered the army as a volunteer. His noble conduct obtained for him the esteem of his countrymen. Kosciusko gave him the command of a division, with which he rendered useful services during the two sieges of Warsaw. Immediately after the surrender of that capital, Poniatowski went to Vienna. He refused the offers of Catherine and Paul to bear arms in the service of Russia.

Poniatowski retired to his estate, near Warsaw, where he lived like a private gentleman, until the creation of the grand duchy of Warsaw revived the hopes of the Polish patriots. He then became war-minister. The Archduke Ferdinand having come, in 1809, with Austrian troops, to take possession of the duchy of Warsaw, Poniatowski, who commanded the Polish troops, which were very inferior in numbers to the Austrian force, obliged the latter, rather by dint of skilful manœuvring than by fighting, to evacuate the grand duchy. He pursued them into Galicia as far as Cracow.

After this honourable campaign, he contrived to exercise his functions as minister, until 1812. The war against Russia again summoned him to the head of the Polish army. After taking part in all the events of that war, which was attended by such various chances, Poniatowski was present at the battle of Leipsic. That battle, which commenced on the 14th of October, the anniversary of the famous battle of Ulm, and of Jena, lasted four days, and decided the fate of Europe. Five hundred thousand men fought on a surface of three square leagues.

Retreat having become indispensable, Napoleon took leave, at Leipsic, of the King of Saxony and his family, whom he had brought with him from Dresden. The emperor then exclaimed in a loud voice, "Adieu, Saxons," to the people who filled the market-place, where the King of Saxony resided. With some difficulty, and after passing through many turnings and windings, he gained the suburb of Runstadt, and left Leipsic by the outer gate of that suburb which leads to the bridge of the Elster, and to Lindenau. The bridge blew up shortly after he had passed it, and that event utterly prevented the retreat of the part of the army which was on the left bank of the Elster, and which fell into the power of the enemy. Napoleon was at the time accused of having ordered the destruction of the bridge immediately after he had himself passed it, in order to secure his own personal retreat, as he was threatened by the active pursuit of the enemy. The English journals were unanimous on this point; and to counteract this opinion, which was very general, an article was inserted in the Moniteur.

Before passing the bridge of the Elster, Napoleon had directed Poniatowski, in concert with Marshal Macdonald, to cover and protect the retreat, and to defend that part of the suburb of Leipsic which is nearest to the Borna road. For the execution of

these orders he had only two thousand Polish infantry. He was in this desperate situation when he saw the French columns in full retreat, and the bridge so choked up with their artillery and waggons, that there was no possibility of passing it. Then drawing his sword, and turning to the officers who were near him, he said, "Here we must fall with honour!" At the head of a small party of cuirassiers and Polish officers, he rushed on the columns of the allies. In this action he received a ball in his left arm: he had already been wounded on the 14th and 16th. He, nevertheless, advanced; but he found the suburb filled with allied troops. He fought his way through them, and received another wound. He then threw himself into the Pleisse, which is before the Elster. Aided by his officers, he gained the opposite bank, leaving his horse in the river. Though greatly exhausted, he mounted another, and gained the Elster by passing through M. Reichenbach's garden, which was situated on the side of that river. The moment was urgent. In spite of the steepness of the banks of the Elster at that part, the prince plunged with his horse into the river: both man and horse were drowned, and the same fate was shared by several officers, who followed Poniatowski's example. Marshal Macdonald was, luckily, one of those who escaped. Five days after, a fisherman drew the body of the prince out of the water. On the 26th of October, it was temporarily interred at Leipsic, with all the honours due to the illustrious deceased. A modest stone marks the spot where the body of the prince was dragged from the river. The Poles expressed a wish to erect a monument to the memory of their countryman in the garden of M. Reichenbach; but that gentleman declared he would do it at his own expense, which he did. The monument consists of a beautiful sarcophagus, surrounded by weeping willows. The body of the prince, after being embalmed, was sent in the following year to Warsaw; and in 1816 it was deposited in the cathedral, among the remains of the kings and great men of Poland. The celebrated Thorwaldsen was commissioned to execute a monument for his tomb. Prince Poniatowski left no issue but a natural son, born in 1790. The royal race, therefore, exists only in a collateral branch of King Stanislas, namely, Prince Stanislas, born in 1754.

BATTLE OF LEIPSIC.

Of this decisive combat, or rather series of combats, we shall subjoin two accounts: one by Lord Londonderry, who was present in that battle; the other by Savary, Duke of Rovigo.

"The battle of General Blucher, on the 16th, was followed by a complete and signal victory on the 18th, by the combined forces, over Bonaparte, at the head of his army, in the neighbourhood of Leipsic.

AIT IN THE COLLECTION OF PRINCE PONIATOWSKI. ENGRAVED BY C

JOZEF ANTON, PRINCE PONIATOWSKI.

MORT DE PONIATOWSKI

The collective loss of above 100 pieces of cannon, 60,000 men, and an immense number of prisoners; the desertion of the Saxon army, and also of the Bavarian and Wirtemburg troops still remaining in the French ranks, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry; many generals killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, among whom were Regnier, Valberg, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, were some of the first fruits of the glorious day of the 18th of October. These were followed by the capture by assault of the town of Leipsic; the magazines, the artillery, stores of the place, with the King of Saxony, all his court, the garrison, and the rear-guard of the French army; the whole of the enemy's wounded, the number of whom exceeded 30,000, with the complete rout of the French army, it being entirely surrounded, and endeavouring to escape in all directions: such were the prominent subjects of exultation. Bonaparte was fortunate enough to escape by rapid flight, two hours before the entry into Leipsic of the allied forces. The further results may be ascertained from a statement of the day's military manœuvres and positions, which it will here be my endeavour to give as succinctly as possible: firstly, of the general and combined operations determined upon by the imperial and royal generals; and secondly, a description of what immediately came under my own observation, namely, the movements of General Blucher, and the prince royal.

"The positions of the allied armies up to the 16th have been already detailed. It being announced by Prince Schwartzenberg, that it was the intention of their majesties, the allied sovereigns, to renew the attack upon the enemy on the 18th, and the order above detailed for the army having been issued, the armies of the north and Silesia were directed to co-operate. Napoleon's army was situated on the 18th, nearly as follows: the 8th, 2d, and 5th corps, under Murat, at Cannewitz; the right was commanded by Prince Poniatowski; Victor formed the centre at Probstheide; the left, under Lauriston, occupied Haarburg; the guards occupied Thornburg, where Bonaparte was in person; Ney was with Napoleon, Oudinot supported Poniatowski with the *jeune garde*, and Mortier was charged with the defence of Leipsic. The dispositions and orders of the grand army were as follows: the 1st column, under Barclay de Tolly, composed of Wittgenstein's corps, and the Russian and Prussian guards, were to advance to the heights of Wachan; the second column, under the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Homburg, a most gallant and skilful officer (since married to our English Princess Elizabeth, but unfortunately now no more), was composed of the divisions of Bianchi, Maurice Lichtenstein, and Weissenwolf, with the reserve, it marched on Dobitsch, with Coloredo's corps, as a further reserve; the 3d column, under Bennigsen, with the corps of Kleinau and Guthin, marched on Hatzhausen.

"Whilst the grand army was to commence the attack from the different points of assembly, on the principal villages situated upon the great roads leading to Leipsic, the armies of the north and Silesia, were jointly to attack the line of the Saale, and the enemy's position along the Partha river. General Blucher intrusted to the Prince Royal of Sweden 30,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and with this

formidable reinforcement, the northern army was to attack from the heights of Taucha; while General Blucher was to retain his position before Leipsic, and use his utmost efforts to gain possession of the place. In the event of the whole of the enemy's forces being carried against either of the armies, they were reciprocally to support each other, and concert further movements.

"That part of the enemy's force which for some time had been opposed to the Prince Royal of Sweden, and General Blucher, had taken up a very good position upon the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Taucha, and its left towards Leipsic. To force the enemy's right, and obtain possession of the heights of Taucha, was the first operation of the prince royal's army. The corps of Russians, under General Winzingerode, and the Prussians, under General Bulow, were destined for this purpose; and the Swedish army was directed to force the passage of the river near Plosen and Mockau. The passage was effected without much opposition: General Winzingerode took about 3000 prisoners at Taucha, and some guns; and General Blucher put his army in motion, as soon as he found the grand army engaged very hotly in the neighbourhood of the villages of Stetteritz and Probstheide. The infantry of the prince royal's army had not sufficient time to make their flank movement before the enemy's infantry had abandoned the line of the river, and retired over the plain, in line and column, towards Leipsic, occupying Pounsdorf, and Schönefel in strength, so as to protect their retreat. A very heavy cannonading, and some brilliant performances of General Winzingerode's cavalry, marked chiefly the events of the early part of the day; towards the close, General Count Langeron, who had crossed the river and attacked the village of Schönefel, met a determined resistance, and at first was unable to force his way: he, however, possessed himself of the village, but was driven back; when the most positive orders were sent him by General Blucher to reoccupy it at the point of the bayonet, which he accomplished before sunset. Some Prussian battalions of General Bulow's corps were warmly engaged also at Pounsdorf, and the enemy were retiring from it, when the prince royal directed the rocket brigade, under Captain Bogue, to form on the left of a Russian battery, and open upon the retiring columns. Congreve's formidable weapon had scarcely accomplished the object of paralyzing a solid square of infantry, which after our fire delivered themselves up as if panic-struck, when that estimable man, and gallant officer, Captain Bogue, of the British royal artillery, received a mortal wound in the head, which at once deprived society of a noble character, and this country of his valuable services. Lieutenant Strangeways who succeeded in the command of the brigade, received the prince royal's thanks, conveyed through me, for the important assistance they had rendered. I felt great satisfaction at witnessing during this day a species of improved warfare, the effects of which were truly astonishing; and produced an impression upon the enemy of something supernatural. During the action, twenty-two guns of Saxon artillery, with two Westphalian regiments of hussars, and two battalions of Saxons, joined us from the enemy: the former were instantly led again into the field, our artillery and ammunition not being all brought forward. The close communication was fully

established between the grand army and those of Blucher and the north. The Grand Duke Constantine, Generals Platoff, Miloradovitch, and other officers of distinction, joined the prince royal; to communicate the events carrying on in the several quarters of this great field of battle.

"The most desperate resistance was made by the enemy at Probstheide, Stetteritz, and Cannewitz. But the different columns bearing on those points, as above detailed, carried every thing before them, General Bennigsen taking the villages on the right bank, and General Giulay manœuvring 25,000 Austrians on the left bank of the Elster. General Thielman's and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein's corps moved upon the same river; and the grand result of the day was, that the enemy lost about 40,000 men in killed and wounded, sixty-five pieces of artillery, and seventeen battalions of German infantry, with all their staff and generals, who came over in a mass during the action. The armies remained during the night, upon the ground which they had so bravely conquered. The prince royal had his bivouac at Pounsdorf; General Blucher remained at Wellens; and the emperors and king at Roda.

"About the close of the day, it being reported that the enemy were retiring by Weissenfels and Naumberg, General Blucher received an order from the King of Prussia to detach in that direction. The movement of the prince royal's army completely precluded the retreat on Wittemberg; that upon Erfurt had long since been lost to them, and the line of the Saale appeared alone to remain. As both the flanks and rear would be operated upon during their march, it was difficult to say with what portion of his army the enemy could get to the Rhine.

"On the 19th, the town of Leipsic was attacked, and carried, after a short resistance, by the armies of Blucher, the prince royal, Bennigsen, and the grand army. Marmont and Macdonald commanded in the town; these, with Augereau and Victor, narrowly escaped with a small escort. Their majesties, the Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, heading their respective troops, entered the town at different points, and met in the great square. The acclamations and rejoicings of the people are not to be described; handkerchiefs waving from the windows, hands clamorous in applause; and lastly, but most eloquently, tears rolling from the eyes, announced the delightful era of the liberation of the world from the tyranny of the despot to be at hand. The moment was too enthusiastically felt to be described in adequate terms, and I confess myself unequal to it. The multiplicity of brilliant achievements, the impossibility of doing full justice to the talent and prowess shown in the series of enterprises arising from the boldness of conception in our commander, Prince Field-marshal Schwartzenberg, and the other intrepid and experienced captains, will be admitted by every one, and plead an excuse for a sketch which scarcely merits the name of a description.

"I sent the account of this battle to England by my aide-de-camp and cousin, Mr. James, who most gallantly was every where in the hottest of the action, and had been distinguished for his ardour in the service since he had been with this army. In order, also, to take every measure to accomplish the transmission home of this

vitally important intelligence as speedily as possible, I was induced to avail myself of the services of Mr. Solly, a Russian gentleman, largely connected in England; who, with indefatigable zeal, and at great personal risk and inconvenience, undertook to carry a copy of my communication direct to the English government through the midst of the French armies. He embarked in an open boat, and arrived in London with this glorious intelligence in an incredibly short space of time.

"One palliating circumstance connected with my imperfect detail of this combat is, that I wrote it, nearly as I have given it above, on a stone in the field of battle, when the fire had ceased, without correction or amendment. I ought here to record the gallantry displayed, and the efficient assistance I received, from my aides-de-camp, Captain Charles, now Major, Wood, and Lieutenant-Colonel Noel Harris: the latter brave officer lost his arm, in the following year, at Waterloo.

"An officer arrived on the 19th from General Tettenborn, bringing the intelligence of the surrender of Bremen to the corps under his orders; and the keys of that town were presented by the prince royal to the Emperor of Russia in the square at Leipsic.

"The losses sustained in the last four days' combats could not with precision be stated; but they were averaged, on the part of the enemy, at 15,000 prisoners, without reckoning 23,000 sick and wounded found in the hospitals at Leipsic, 250 pieces of cannon, and 900 tumbrels. Prince Poniatowski, Generals Vial, Rochambeau, Dumoutier, Compans, and Latour-Maubourg, were killed; and Ney, Marmont, and Souham, wounded. Fifteen generals were made prisoners. The loss of the allies was equally serious. The Prussian corps of D'Yorck lost 5000 men; the Austrians enumerated no less than sixty officers of distinction killed in this sanguinary contest."*—*Editor.*

The following particulars relative to the battle of Leipsic are derived from Rovigo's Memoirs:

"The enemy attacked our army on the 18th of October, I believe, in front of Leipsic. The fire was murderous, and prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. The behaviour of the French troops was truly astonishing, as the oldest corps among them were the cohorts of the national guards, which had only been made moveable and brought into the field since the month of March. The cavalry was entirely composed of recruits. The men and the horses were equally raw and undisciplined. No part of our army was in a good state except the artillery. Nevertheless, whatever might be the advantage derived from the use of this weapon, the army could not long have resisted the vigorous attacks made upon it, had it not been for the presence of the emperor, who showed himself every where.

"The allies were so numerous, that they scarcely perceived the losses they sustained. Their masses pressed down upon us in every direction; and it was impossible that victory could fail to be with them. Their success, however, would have been less decisive, had it not been for the defection of the Saxons. In the midst of the battle, these troops having moved towards the enemy, as if intending to make an attack, turned suddenly round, and opened a heavy fire of artil-

* Marquis of Londonderry's "Narrative of the War in Germany and France."

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FROM COPY, IN POSSESSION OF GEORGE CLINTON GENET, OF PORTRAIT BELONGING TO THE PRINCE DE LA MOSKOWA, GRANDSON OF NEY

MARÉCHAL MICHEL NEY, DUC D'ELCHINGEN, PRINCE DE LA MOSKOWA.

PAINTED BY GÉRARD. ENGRAVED BY R. G. TIETZE.

I COPY, IN POSSESSION OF GEORGE CLINTON GENET, OF PORTRAIT BELONGING TO THE PRINCE DE LA MOSKOWA, GRANDSON OF I

MARÉCHALE NEY, DUCHESSE D'ELCHINGEN, PRINCESSE DE LA MOSKOWA.

lery and musketry on the columns by the side of which they had a few moments before been fighting. I do not know in what page of history such a transaction is recorded. This event immediately produced a great difference in our affairs, which were before in a bad enough train. I ought here to mention, that before the battle the emperor dismissed a Bavarian division, which still remained with him. He spoke to the officers in terms which will not soon be effaced from their memory. He told them, that, 'according to the laws of war, they were his prisoners, since their government had taken part against him; but that he could not forget the services they had rendered him, and that they were therefore at liberty to return home.' These troops left the army, where they were much esteemed, and marched for Bavaria.

"The desertion of the Saxons to the enemy obliged the emperor to order movements to which he would not otherwise have resorted, especially in so warm an action. These unexpected movements caused disorder, when that calmness and that cool determination by which so much may be done at the decisive moment of a battle, were most wanting. It was now necessary to think of a retreat, which had, indeed, already begun, in consequence of the physical and moral exhaustion of the troops, which had maintained the contest since the morning under marked disadvantages.

"The enemy soon perceived that our troops were retiring; but his attacks were not relaxed. The bridge of Leipsic was the only passage whereby the retreat could be effected; and it is inconceivable how the staff of the army could have neglected to build other bridges. Their construction would have been quite easy, as in such a town as Leipsic materials and workmen would have been found in abundance, if the artificers of the army had been insufficient.

"The Prince de Neufchâtel declared that he had directed bridges to be prepared: the artillery and engineer departments asserted that they had received no orders. Whether the neglect was in the issuing or the execution of the orders, the consequences were not the less disastrous.

"After nearly the whole of the left, and part of the centre had passed the Elster, the emperor himself crossed. He desired the artillery-officer who had charge of the bridge, for the destruction of which preparation had been made, not to leave the spot, and not to put the match to the train until all the troops had passed over.

"At first, the corps proceeded along the bridge without any disagreeable accident; but such was the disorder, that no one could tell whether or not his column was the last which had to pass. The enemy's sharpshooters were in advance; the pressure towards the bridge was great, and the confusion became extreme.

"The officer left in charge of the bridge not knowing what was the state of things on the enemy's side, ran towards a general officer to learn, if possible, from him how far the passage had been effected; but he was carried away by the crowd, and could not return. The artillery-men who were under his command, seeing German troops and Cossacks pushing forward, blew up the bridge without waiting for orders; and thus the right of the army, which kept the enemy's masses in check, was cut off.

"The report of this unfortunate event soon spread through the ranks. The right was in its turn thrown into disorder, and an escape was sought through fields and marshes. This completed the disaster: the troops were made prisoners of war; and Generals Lauriston and Reynier were taken with them. Prince Joseph Poniatowski, recently made marshal of France, had just at this moment gained the banks of the Elster. Though wounded, consulting only his courage, he plunged on horseback into the river, where he unfortunately perished. It was impossible to be more brave than was this prince: impetuous, magnanimous, and always amiable, he was as much esteemed by those against whom he combated, as regretted by the party whom he served.

"Thus terminated the fatal day of Leipsic: the result of which to France was the loss of a fine and numerous army and all her allies."—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

1813.

Amount of the allied forces against Napoleon—Their advance towards the Rhine—Levy of two hundred thousand men—Dreadful situation of the French at Mentz—Declaration of the allies at Frankfort—Diplomatic correspondence—The Duke de Bassano succeeded by the Duke de Vicenza—The conditions of the allies vaguely accepted—Caulaincourt sent to the head-quarters of the allies—Manifesto of the allied powers to the French people—Gift of thirty millions from the emperor's privy purse—Wish to recal M. de Talleyrand—Singular advice relative to Wellington—The French army recalled from Spain—The throne resigned by Joseph—Absurd accusation against M. Lainé—Adjournment of the legislative body—Remarks of Napoleon reported by Cambacérès.

When the war resumed its course, after the disaster of Leipsic, the allied sovereigns determined to treat with Napoleon only in his own capital, as he, four years before, had refused to treat with the Emperor of Austria, except at Vienna. The latter sovereign now completely raised the mask, and declared to the emperor, that he would make common cause with Russia and Prussia against him. In his declaration he made use of the singular remark, that the more enemies there were against him, there would be the greater chance of speedily obliging him to accede to conditions which would at length restore the tranquillity of which Europe stood so much in need. This declaration on the part of Austria was an affair of no little importance, for she had now raised an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men. An equal force was enrolled beneath the Russian banners, which were advancing towards the Rhine. Prussia had two hundred thousand men; the Confederation of the Rhine, one hundred and fifty thousand: in short, including the Swedes and

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BATAILLE DE HANAU

THE BATTLE OF HANAU

BATTLE OF HANAU.

"The Austro-Bavarians had taken up their position amidst the woods near Hanau before the Emperor approached the Mayne. He came up with them in the morning of the 30th, and his troops charged on the instant with the fury of desperation. Buonaparte cut his way through ere nightfall; and Marmont, with the rear, had equal success on the 31st. In these actions there fell 6000 of the French; while the enemy had 10,000 killed or wounded, and lost 4000 prisoners; and these losses would have been far greater, but for the ready wit of a patriotic miller, who, watching the tide of battle, suddenly let the water into a mill-stream, and thus interposed a seasonable obstacle between the French cavalry and some German infantry, whom they had been driving before them; a service which was munificently rewarded by the King of Prussia at an after period.

"The pursuit on the road which Napoleon adopted had been entrusted to the Austrians, who urged it with far less vigour than the Prussians, under the fiery guidance of Blucher, would probably have exerted. No considerable annoyance, therefore, succeeded the battle of Hanau. The relics of the French host at length passed the Rhine; and the Emperor having quitted them at Mentz, arrived in Paris on the 9th of November."

Thus terminated the campaign in Saxony.

The moment the artist has chosen to represent, is when General Dourot would have been killed by a light-horse Bavarian, if, at the instant the French general was about to receive the blow, a cannonier had not cut the Bavarian's horse-reins by a stroke with his *levier de pointage*.

the Dutch, the English troops in Spain and in the Netherlands, the Danes, who had abandoned us, the Spaniards and Portuguese, whose courage and hopes were revived by our reverses, Napoleon had arrayed against him upwards of a million of enemies. Among them, too, were the Neapolitans, with Murat at their head.

The month of November, 1813, was fatal to the fortune of Napoleon. In all parts the French armies were repulsed, and driven back upon the Rhine, while in every direction the allied forces advanced towards that river. For a considerable time I had confidently anticipated the fall of the empire; not because the foreign sovereigns had vowed its destruction, but because I saw the impossibility of Napoleon defending himself against all Europe; and because I knew that, however desperate might be his fortune, nothing would induce him to consent to conditions which he considered disgraceful. At this time, every day was marked by a new defection. Even the Bavarians, the natural allies of France; they whom the emperor had led to victory, at the commencement of the second campaign of Vienna, they whom he had, as it were, adopted on the field of battle, were now against us, and were the bitterest of our enemies.

Even before the battle of Leipsic, the consequences of which were so ruinous to Napoleon, he had felt the necessity of applying to France for a supply of troops; as if France had been inexhaustible. He directed the empress regent to make this demand; and accordingly Maria Louisa proceeded to the senate, for the first time, in great state: but the glories of the empire were now on the decline. The empress obtained a levy of two hundred and eighty thousand troops; but they were no sooner enrolled, than they were sacrificed. The defection of the Bavarians considerably augmented the difficulties which assailed the wreck of the army that had escaped from Leipsic. They had got before us to Hanau, a town four leagues distant from Frankfort: there they established themselves, with the view of cutting off our retreat; but French valour was roused, the little town was speedily carried, and the Bavarians were repulsed with considerable loss. The French army arrived at Mentz; if, indeed, one may give the name of army to a few masses of men, destitute, dispirited, and exhausted by fatigue and privation. On the arrival of the troops at Mentz, no preparation had been made for receiving them: there were no provisions, or supplies of any kind; and, as the climax of misfortune, contagious diseases broke out amongst the men. All the accounts I received, concurred in assuring me that their situation was dreadful.

However, without counting the wreck which escaped from the disasters of Leipsic, and the ravages of disease; without including the two hundred and eighty thousand men which had been raised by a senatus consultum, on the application of Maria Louisa, the emperor still possessed a hundred and twenty thou-

sand good troops; but they were in the rear, scattered along the Elbe, shut up in fortresses such as Dantzic, Hamburg, Torgau, and Spandau. Such was the horror of our situation, that if, on the one hand, we could not resolve to abandon them, it was at the same time impossible to aid them. In France a universal cry was raised for peace, at whatever price it could be purchased. In this state of things, it may be said that the year 1813 was more fatal to Napoleon than the year 1812. The disasters of Moscow were repaired by his activity, and the sacrifices of France; but the disasters of Leipsic were irreparable.

I shall now speak of some negotiations in which, if I had chosen, I might have taken a part. After the battle of Leipsic, in which France lost, for the second time, a formidable army, all the powers allied against Napoleon declared at Frankfort, on the 9th of November, that they would never break the bonds which united them; that henceforth, it was not merely a continental peace, but a general peace that would be demanded; and that any negotiation not having a general peace for its object, would be rejected. The allied powers declared that France was to be confined within her natural limits, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. This was all that was to remain of the vast empire founded by Napoleon; but still it must be allowed it was a great deal, after the many disasters France had experienced, and when she was menaced with invasion by numerous and victorious armies. But Napoleon could not accede to such proposals,for he was always ready to yield to illusion when the truth was not satisfactory to him.

According to the proposals of the allies at Frankfort, Germany, Italy, and Spain were to be entirely withdrawn from the dominion of France. England recognised the freedom of trade and navigation, and there appeared no reason to doubt the sincerity of her professed willingness to make great sacrifices, to promote the object proposed by the allies. But to these offers a fatal condition was added, namely, that the congress should meet in a town, to be declared neutral, on the right bank of the Rhine, where the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent powers were to assemble; but "the course of the war was not to be impeded by these negotiations."

The Duke de Bassano, who was still minister for foreign affairs, replied, by order of Napoleon, to the overtures made by the allies, for a general congress; and stated that the emperor acceded to them, and wished Manheim to be chosen as the neutral town. M. Metternich replied in a note, dated Frankfort, the 25th of November, stating that the allies felt no difficulty in acceding to Napoleon's choice of Manheim, for the meeting of the congress; but as M. de Bassano's letter contained no mention of the general and summary bases I have just mentioned, and which had been communicated to M. de Saint Aignan, at Frankfort, M. Metternich stated, that the allies wished the

Emperor Napoleon to declare his determination respecting those bases, in order that insurmountable difficulties might not arrest the negotiations at their very outset. The Duke de Vicenza, who had just succeeded the Duke de Bassano, received this letter. Trusting to the declaration of Frankfort, he thought he would be justified in treating on those bases; he confidently relied on the consent of Napoleon. But the allies had now determined not to grant the limits accorded by that declaration. Caulaincourt was therefore obliged to apply for fresh powers, which being granted, he replied, on the 10th of December, that Napoleon accepted the fundamental and summary bases which had been communicated by M. de Saint Aignan. To this letter M. Metternich answered, that the Emperors of Russia and Austria were gratified to find that the Emperor of France recognised the bases judged necessary by the allies; that the two sovereigns would communicate, without delay, the official document to their allies, and that they were convinced, that immediately on receiving their reply, the negotiations might be opened, without any interruption of the war.

We shall now see the reason why these first negotiations came to no result. In the month of October, the allies overthrew the colossal edifice denominated the French Empire. When led by victory to the banks of the Rhine, they declared their wish to abstain from conquest, explained their intentions, and manifested an unalterable resolution to abide by them. This determination of the allies induced the French government to evince pacific intentions. Napoleon wished, by an apparent desire for peace, to justify, if I may so express myself, in the eyes of his subjects, the necessity of new sacrifices; which, according to his proclamations, he demanded only to enable him to obtain peace on as honourable conditions as possible. But the truth is, he was resolved not even to listen to the offers made at Frankfort. He always represented the limits of the Rhine as merely a compensation for the dismemberment of Poland, and the immense aggrandizement of the English possessions in Asia. But he wanted to gain time, and, if possible, to keep the allied armies ou the right bank of the Rhine.

The immense levies made in France, one after the other, had converted the conscription into a sort of press.* Men employed in agriculture and manufactures were dragged from their labours; and the people began to express their dissatisfaction at the measures of government more loudly than they had hitherto ventured to do; yet all were willing to make another effort, if they could have persuaded themselves that the emperor would henceforth confine his thoughts to France alone. Napoleon sent Caulaincourt to the head-quarters of the allies; but

The reader will find some notes on the conscription at the end of the volume.—*Editor.*

that was only for the sake of gaining time, and inducing a belief that he was favourably disposed to peace.

The allies having learned the immense levies of troops which Napoleon was making, and being well acquainted with the state of feeling in France, published the famous manifesto, addressed to the French people, which was profusely circulated, and may be referred to as a warning to subjects, who trust to the promises of governments.

The good faith with which the promises in the manifesto were kept, may be judged of from the treaty of Paris. In the mean time the manifesto did not a little contribute to alienate from Napoleon those who were yet faithful to his cause; for, by believing in the declarations of the allies, they saw in him the sole obstacle to that peace which France so ardently desired. On this point, too, the allies were not wrong, and I confess that I did not see without great surprise that the Duke de Rovigo, in that part of his Memoirs where he mentions this manifesto, reproaches those who framed it for representing the emperor as a madman, who replied to overtures of peace only by conscription levies. After all, I do not intend to maintain that the declaration was entirely sincere; with respect to the future it certainly was not. Switzerland was already tampered with, and attempts were made to induce her to permit the allied troops to enter France by the bridge of Bâle. Things were going on no better in the south of France, where the Anglo-Spanish army threatened our frontiers by the Pyrenees, and already occupied Pampeluna; and at the same time the internal affairs of the country were no less critical than its external position. It was in vain to levy troops; every thing essential to an army was wanting. To meet the most pressing demands, the emperor drew out thirty millions from the immense treasure which he had accumulated in the cellars and galleries of the Pavilion Marsan at the Tuileries.* These thirty millions were speedily swallowed up. Nevertheless, it was an act of generosity on the part of Napoleon, and I never could understand on what ground the legislative body complained of the outlay; because, as the funds did not proceed from the budget, there needed no financial law to authorize their application. Besides, why did these rigid legislators, who, while fortune smiled on Bonaparte, dared not utter a word on the subject, demand, previously to the gratuitous gift just mentioned, that the three hundred and fifty millions in the emperor's privy purse, should be transferred to the imperial treasury, and carried to the public accounts? Why did they wink at the accumulation in the Tuileries of the contributions and exactions levied in conquered countries? The answer is plain; because there would have been danger in opposing it.

* This hoarding of money shows Napoleon's ignorance of all that relates to finance, since money has no value except in circulation.

Charlet del.

CHACUN SON METIER.

EVERY ONE TO HIS OWN CALLING.

CHACUN SON METIER.

One day Napoleon, followed by three or four officers, passed through the market on his return to the Tuileries. The customary acclamations were not wanting. A greengrocer cried out that he ought to make peace : " Good woman," answered the Emperor, smiling, " continue selling your cabbages, and leave me to do that which concerns me,—every man to his own business." At this the crowd laughed, and shouted " *Vive l'Empereur !*"—1813.

Amidst the difficulties which assailed the emperor, he cast his eyes on M. de Talleyrand. But it being required as a condition of his receiving the portfolio of foreign affairs, that he should resign his office of vice-grand-elector, M. de Talleyrand preferred a permanent post to a portfolio, which the caprice of a moment might withdraw. I have been informed that, in a conversation with the emperor, M. de Talleyrand gave him the extraordinary advice of working upon the ambition of the English family of Wellesley; and to excite in the mind of Wellington, the lustre of whose reputation was now dawning, ambitious projects, which would have embarrassed the coalition. Napoleon, however, did not adopt this proposition, the issue of which he thought too uncertain, and, above all, too remote, in the urgent circumstances in which he stood. Caulaincourt was then made minister for foreign affairs, in lieu of M. Maret, who was appointed secretary of state; an office much better suited to him.

Meanwhile the emperor was wholly intent on the means of repelling the attack which was preparing against him. The critical circumstances in which he was placed, seemed to restore the energy which time had in some measure robbed him of. He turned his eyes towards Spain, and resolved to bring the army from that country, to oppose the allies, whose movements indicated their intention of entering France by Switzerland. An event occurred connected with this subject, calculated to have a decided influence on the affairs of the moment, namely, the renunciation of Joseph, King of Spain, of all right to the crown, to be followed by the return, as had been agreed on, of Ferdinand to his dominions. Joseph made this sacrifice at the instigation of his brother. The treaty was signed, but an inconceivable delay occurred in its execution; while the torrent, which was advancing upon France, rushed forward so rapidly, that the treaty could not be carried into execution. Ferdinand, it is true, reascended his throne, but from other causes.

On the 19th of December, the legislative body was convoked. It was on a Wednesday. M. Lainé was vice-president under M. Regnier. A committee was appointed to examine and report on the communications of the emperor. The report and conclusions of the committee were not satisfactory; it was alleged that they betrayed a revolutionary tendency, of which M. Lainé was absurdly accused of having been one of the promoters; but all who knew him must have been convinced of the falsehood of the charge. The emperor ordered the report to be seized, and then adjourned the legislative body. Those who attentively observed the events of the time, will recollect the stupor which prevailed in Paris on the intelligence of this seizure, and the adjournment of the legislative body. A thousand conjectures were started, as to what new occurrences had taken place abroad; but nothing satisfactory was learned.

The members of the adjourned legislative body went, as usual, to take leave of the emperor, who received them on a Sunday, and after delivering to them the speech, which is very well known, dismissed *the rebels* with great ill-humour, refusing to hear any explanation. In after conversations, he said of the legislative body, that "its members never came to Paris but to obtain some favours. They importuned the ministers from morning till night; and complained if they were not immediately satisfied. When invited to dinner, they burn with envy at the splendour they see before them." I heard this from Cambacérès, who was present when the emperor made these remarks.

NAPOLEON'S SPEECH TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

"I have suppressed your address," he began abruptly: "it was incendiary.—I called you round me to do good—you have done ill. Eleven-twelfths of you are well intentioned, the others, and above all M. Lainé, are factious intriguers, devoted to England, to all my enemies, and corresponding through the channel of the advocate Désege with the Prince Regent. Return to your departments, and feel that my eye will follow you; you have endeavoured to humble me, you may kill me, but you shall not dishonour me. You make remonstrances; is this a time, when the stranger invades our provinces, and 200,000 Cossacks are ready to overflow our country? There may have been petty abuses; I never connived at them. You, M. Renouard, you said that Prince Massena robbed a man at Marseilles of his house.—*You lie!* The general took possession of a vacant house, and my minister shall indemnify the proprietor. Is it thus that you dare affront a marshal of France who has bled for his country, and grown gray in victory? Why did you not make your complaints in secret to me? I would have done you justice. We should *wash our dirty linen* in private, and not drag it out before the world. You call yourselves representatives of the nation. It is not true; you are only deputies of the departments; a small portion of the state, inferior to the senate, inferior even to the council of state. The representatives of the people! I am alone the representative of the people. Twice have twenty-four millions of French called me to the throne—which of you durst undertake such a burden? It had already overwhelmed (*écrasé*) your Assemblies, and your Conventions, your Vergniauds and your Goudets, your Jacobins and your Girondins.—They are all dead! What, who are *you?* nothing—all authority is in the throne; and what is the throne? this wooden frame covered with velvet?—no, I am the throne. You have added wrong to reproaches. You have talked of concessions—concessions that even my enemies dared not ask. I suppose if they asked Champaigne, you would have had me give them La Brie besides; but in four months I will conquer peace, or I shall be dead.—You advise! how dare you debate of such high matters *(de si graves intérêts)!* You

have put me in the front of the battle as the cause of war—it is infamous *(c'est une atrocité)*. In all your committees you have excluded the friends of government—extraordinary commission—committee of finance—committee of the address, all, all my enemies. M. Lainé, I repeat it, is a traitor; he is a wicked man, the others are mere intriguers. I do justice to the eleven-twelfths; but the factions I know, and will pursue. Is it, I ask again, is it while the enemy is in France that you should have done this? But nature has gifted me with a determined courage—nothing can overcome me. It cost my pride much too—I made that sacrifice; I—but I am above your miserable declamations. I was in need of consolation, and you would mortify me—but, no, my victories shall crush your clamours: in three months we shall have peace, and you shall repent your folly. *I am one of those who triumph or die.*

"Go back to your departments. If any one of you dare to print your address, I shall publish it in the Moniteur with notes of my own. Go, France stands in more need of me than I do of France. I bear the eleven-twelfths of you in my heart—I shall nominate the deputies to the two series which are vacant, and I shall reduce the legislative body to the discharge of its proper duties. The inhabitants of Alsace and Franche Comté, have a better spirit than you; they ask me for arms, I send them, and one of my aides-de-camp will lead them against the enemy."

Having delivered this speech with the rapidity and violence approaching to fury, he dismissed the insulted representatives of France, and hastened to his own destruction in the continuance of the war.—*Editor.*

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.

The reader will see in our account of the rupture between Bonaparte and Murat, how important a cause in producing that effect was the maritime war with England, coupled with the insane decrees of Berlin and Milan. It was the same every where. In rising against the thraldom of France, almost the first step taken by Prussia was to renounce the continental system. That Prussia should now (in 1836) be attempting to create a sort of continental system of her own, is matter for melancholy reflection. We allude, of course, to the German custom-house league, of which she is at the head. The following is a decree against the system of Bonaparte in 1813:

"*Prussian Edict, concerning the Abolition of the so-called Continental System, and the Duties to be collected on Goods hereafter imported by Sea.*

"We, Frederick William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia &c., having found cause to withdraw ourselves from the alliance with France, likewise deem it necessary herewith to declare, that all restraints under which commerce has hitherto suffered in our states, in

consequence of the so-denominated continental system, are abolished, and that the ships and goods of all friendly and neutral nations shall be freely permitted to enter in our harbours and territories, without any exception or difference. All French goods, either produce or manufactures, are, on the contrary, herewith totally prohibited, not only for use, but likewise to pass through our territories, or those occupied by our armies. The so-denominated continental impost is taken off, and exclusive of the consumption-excise to be especially paid on all foreign goods entered inwards by sea for home-consumption, there shall be levied the heretofore-established moderate impost and transit duty, as it was previous to the establishment of the continental impost in the year 1810; which duty shall be collected on the gross weight; but only continue so long as the increased expenses arising from the war carrying on for the liberation of Germany, shall render it necessary.

"We give to our privy councillor of state, and chief of the Inward Customs Department, M. von Heydebreck, full and uncontrolled power to make what further alterations he may see fit in the whole of the forementioned temporary import-duties, &c., and to put them in a fitter proportion; as likewise to reduce, or entirely take off, at his own judgment, the consumption-excise, on such articles where the collecting the full consumption-excise, together with the import-duty, would fall too heavily on the home consumption.

"All our public officers whom this matter concerns are directed to pay due attention hereto.

"Given at Breslau, March 20, 1813.

"(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"Hardenberg."

CHAPTER XXV.

1813.

The flag of the army of Italy and the eagles of 1813—Entrance of the allies into Switzerland—Summons to the minister of the police—My refusal to accept a mission to Switzerland—Interviews with M. de Talleyrand and the Duke de Vicenza—Offer of a dukedom and the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour—Definitive refusal—The Duke de Vicenza's message to me in 1815—Commencement of the siege of Hamburg—Death of Vandamme—A bridge two leagues long—Executions at Lubeck—Scarcity of provisions in Hamburg—Banishment of the inhabitants—Men bastinadoed, and women whipped—Hospitality of the inhabitants of Altona.

I AM now arrived at the most critical period in Napoleon's career. What reflections must he have made, if he had had leisure to reflect, in comparing the recollections of his rising glory with the sad picture of his falling fortune? What a contrast presents itself when we compare the famous flag of the army

EST-IL VRAI QUE LES AFFAIRES VONT SI MAL ?

of Italy, which the youthful conqueror, Bonaparte, carried to the Directory, with those drooping eagles who had now to defend the aerie whence they had so often taken flight to spread their triumphant wings over Europe! Here we see the difference between liberty and absolute power! Napoleon, the son of liberty, to whom he owed every thing, had disowned his mother, and was now about to fall. Those glorious triumphs were now over, when the people of Italy consoled themselves for defeat, and submitted to the magical power of that liberty which preceded the republican armies.* Now, on the contrary, it was to free themselves from a despotic yoke that the nations of Europe had taken up arms, and were preparing to invade France.

With the violation of the Swiss territory by the allied armies, after the consent of the cantons, is connected a fact of great importance in my life, and which, if I had chosen, might have made a great difference in my destiny. On Tuesday, the 28th of December, I dined with my old friend, M. Pierlot, and, on leaving home, I was in the habit of telling where I might be found in case I should be wanted. At nine o'clock at night an express arrived from the minister of police, desiring me to come immediately to his office. I confess, considering the circumstances of the times, and knowing the emperor's prejudices against me, such a request, coming at such an hour, made me feel some uneasiness, and I expected nothing less than a journey to Vincennes. The Duke de Rovigo, by becoming responsible for me, had as yet warded off the blow, and the supervision to which the emperor had subjected me, thanks to the good offices of Davoust, consisted in going three times a week to show myself to Savary.

I accordingly repaired to the hotel of the minister of the police. I was ushered into a well-lighted room, and when I entered I found Savary waiting for me. He was in full costume, from which I concluded he had just come from the emperor. Advancing towards me with an air which showed he had no bad news to communicate, he thus addressed me: "Bourrienne, I have just come from the emperor, who asked we where you were? I told him that you were in Paris, and that I saw you often. 'Well,' continued the emperor, 'bid him come to me, I want to employ him. It is three years since he has had any thing to do. I wish to send him as minister to Switzerland, but he must set off directly. He must go to the allies. He understands German well. The King of Prussia expressed by letter satisfaction at his conduct towards the Prussians, whom the war forced to retire to Hamburg. He knows Prince Wittgenstein, who is the friend of the King of Prussia, and probably is at

* We repeat that the Italian *people* were hardly ever to be considered as belligerents. It was Austria and a few old dynasties that were conquered in Italy.—*Editor.*

Lorrach.* He will see all the Germans who are there. I confidently rely on him, and believe his journey will have a good result. Caulaincourt will give him his instructions.' "

Notwithstanding my extreme surprise at this communication, I replied without hesitation, that I could not accept the mission; that it was offered too late. "It, perhaps, is hoped," said I, "that the bridge of Bâle will be destroyed, and that Switzerland will preserve her neutrality. But I do not believe any such thing; nay, more, I am convinced of the contrary. I can only repeat, the offer comes much too late."—"I am very sorry for this resolution," observed Savary, "but Caulaincourt will perhaps persuade you. The emperor wishes you to go to the Duke de Vicenza to-morrow at one o'clock; he will acquaint you with all the particulars, and give you your instructions."—"He may acquaint me with whatever he chooses, but I will not go to Lorrach."—"You know the emperor beter than I do, he wishes you to go, and he will not pardon your refusal."—"He may do as he pleases, but no consideration shall induce me to go to Switzerland."—"You are wrong: but you will reflect on the matter between this and to-morrow morning. Night will bring good counsel. At any rate, do not fail to go to-morrow at one o'clock to Caulaincourt, he expects you; and directions will be given to admit you immediately."

Next morning, the first thing I did was to call on M. Talleyrand. I told him what had taken place, and as he was intimately acquainted with Caulaincourt, I begged him to speak to that minister in favour of my resolution. M. de Talleyrand approved of my determination not to go to Switzerland, and at one o'clock precisely I proceeded to M. de Caulaincourt's. He told me all he had been instructed to say. From the manner in which he made the communication, I concluded that he himself considered the proposed mission a disagreeable one, and unlikely to be attended by any useful result. I observed that he must have heard from Savary, that I had already expressed my determination to decline the mission which the emperor had been pleased to offer me. The Duke de Vicenza then, in a very friendly way, detailed the reasons which ought to induce me to accept the offer; and did not disguise from me, that by persisting in my determination, I ran the risk of raising Napoleon's doubts as to my opinions and future intentions. I replied, that having lived for three years as a private man, unconnected with public affairs, I should have no influence at the head-quarters of the allies, and that whatever little ability I might be supposed to possess, *that* would not counterbalance the difficulties of my situation, and the opinion that I was out of favour. I added, that I should appear at the head-quarters without any decoration,

* Lorrach is a village two miles from Bâle, the place fixed on for the starting-point of the Austro-Russian army.

without even that of the cordon of the Legion of Honour, to which the emperor attached so much importance, and the want of which would almost have the appearance of disgrace; and I added, that these trifles, however slightly valued by reasonable men, were not, as he well knew, without their influence on the men with whom I should have to treat. "If that be all," replied Caulaincourt, "the obstacle will speedily be removed. I am authorized by the emperor to tell you, that he will create you a duke, and give you the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour."

After these words I thought I was dreaming, and I was almost inclined to believe that Caulaincourt was jesting with me. However, the offer was serious, and I will not deny that it was tempting; yet I nevertheless persisted in the refusal I had given. At length, after some further conversation, and renewed, but useless, entreaties on the part M. de Caulaincourt, he rose, which was a signal that our interview was terminated. I acknowledge I remained for a moment in doubt how to act, for I felt we had come to no understanding. M. de Caulaincourt advanced slowly towards the door of his cabinet. If I went away without knowing his opinion, I had done nothing; addressing him, therefore, by his family name, "Caulaincourt," said I, "you have frequently assured me that you would never forget the services I rendered to you and your family, at a time when I possessed some influence. I know you, and therefore speak to you without disguise. I do not now address myself to the emperor's minister, but to Caulaincourt. You are a man of honour, and I can open my heart to you frankly. Consider the embarrassing situation of France, which you know better than I do. I do not ask you for your secrets, but I myself know enough. I will tell you candidly, that I am convinced the enemy will pass the Rhine in a few days.* The emperor has been deceived: I should not have time to reach my destination, and I should be laughed at. My correspondents in Germany have made me acquainted with every particular. Now, Caulaincourt, tell me honestly, if you were in my place, and I in yours, and I should make this proposition to you, what determination would you adopt?"

I observed from the expression of Caulaincourt's countenance, that my question had made an impression on him, and affectionately pressing my hand, he said, "I would do as you do: Enough. I will arrange the business with the emperor." This reply seemed to remove a weight from my mind, and I left Caulaincourt with feelings of gratitude. I felt fully assured that he would settle the business satisfactorily, and in this conjecture I was not deceived, for I heard no more of the matter.

* I spoke thus to M. de Caulaincourt on a Wednesday. On the following Friday the allied troops passed the Rhine.

I will here go forward a year to relate another occurrence in which the Duke de Vicenza and I were concerned. When, in March, 1815, the king appointed me prefect of police, M. de Caulaincourt, sent to me a confidential person to inquire whether he ran any risk in remaining in Paris, or whether he had better remove. He had been told that his name was inscribed in a list of individuals, whom I had received orders to arrest. Delighted at this proof of confidence, I returned the following answer by the Duke de Vicenza's messenger: "Tell M. de Caulaincourt that I do not know where he lives. He need be under no apprehension: I will answer for him."

During the campaign of 1813, the allies, after driving the French out of Saxony, and obliging them to retreat towards the Rhine, besieged Hamburg, where Davoust was shut up with a garrison of thirty thousand men, resolutely determined to make it a second Sarragosa. From the month of September, every day augmented the number of the allied troops, who were already making rapid progress on the left bank of the Elbe. Davoust endeavoured to fortify Hamburg on so extended a scale, that, in the opinion of the most experienced military men, it would have required a garrison of sixty thousand men to defend it in a regular and protracted siege. At the commencement of the siege Davoust lost Vandamme, who was killed in a sortie at the head of a numerous corps, which was inconsiderately sacrificed. It is but justice to admit that Davoust displayed great activity in his erroneous and useless system of defence: he began by laying in large supplies. General Bertrand was directed to construct a bridge to form a communication between Hamburg and Haarburg, by joining the islands of the Elbe to the continent, along a total distance of about two leagues. This bridge was to be built of wood; and Davoust seized upon all the timber-yards to supply materials for its construction. In the space of eighty-three days the bridge was finished. It was a very magnificent structure, its length being two thousand five hundred and twenty-nine fathoms, exclusive of the lines of junction, formed on the two islands.*

The inhabitants were dreadfully oppressed, but all the cruel measures and precautions of the French were ineffectual; for the allies advanced in great force, and occupied Westphalia, which movement obliged the governor of Hamburg to recal to the town the different detachments scattered round Hamburg.

At Lubeck the departure of the French troops was marked by blood. Before they evacuated the town, an old man, and a butcher named Prahl, were condemned to be shot. The butcher's

* After the general peace, and the final return of the Bourbons to France, the senate of Hamburg caused this bridge to be destroyed, on the ground that it was a dangerous medium of communication with the town. But the enormous expense necessary for keeping the bridge in repair, was a consideration which had great weight in the determination of the senate.

crime consisted in having said, in speaking of the French, "Der teufel hohle sie" (the devil take them). The old man fortunately escaped his threatened fate; but, notwithstanding the entreaties and tears of the inhabitants, the sentence upon Prahl was carried into execution. The garrison of Hamburg was composed of French, Italian, and Dutch troops. Their number at first amounted to thirty thousand; but sickness made great havoc among them. From sixty to eighty perished daily in the hospitals. When the garrison evacuated Hamburg in May, 1814, it was reduced to about fifteen thousand men.

In the month of December provisions began to diminish, and there was no possibility of renewing the supply. The poor were first of all made to leave the town, and afterwards all persons who were not usefully employed. It is no exaggeration to estimate at fifty thousand the number of persons who were thus exiled. The colonel commanding the gendarmerie at Hamburg, notified to the exiled inhabitants, that those who did not leave the town within the prescribed time would receive fifty blows with a cane, and afterwards be driven out. But if penance may be commuted with priests, so it may with gendarmes. Delinquents contrived to purchase their escape from the bastinado by a sum of money; and French gallantry substituted with respect to females the whip for the cane. I saw an order directing all female servants to be examined as to their health, unless they could produce certificates from their masters. On the 25th of December, the governor granted twenty-four hours longer to persons who were ordered to quit the town; and two days after this indulgence, an ordinance was published, declaring that those who should return to the town, after once leaving it, were to be considered as rebels, and accomplices of the enemy, and as such, condemned to death by a prevotal court. But this was not enough. At the end of December, people, without distinction of sex or age, were dragged from their beds, and conveyed out of the town, on a cold night, when the thermometer was between sixteen or eighteen degrees; and it was affirmed that several old men perished in this removal. Those who survived were left on the outside of the Altona gates. At Altona they all found refuge and assistance. On Christmas-day, seven thousand of these unfortunate persons were received in the house of M. Rainville, formerly aide-de-camp to Dumouriez, and who left France together with that general. His house, which was at Holstein, was usually the scene of brilliant entertainments; but it was converted into the abode of misery, mourning, and death. All possible attention was bestowed on the unfortunate outlaws; but few profited by it, and, what is worse, the inhabitants of Altona suffered for their generosity. Many of the unfortunate persons were infected with the epidemic disease, which was raging in Hamburg, and which, in consequence, broke out at Altona.

All means of raising money in Hamburg being exhausted, a seizure was made of the funds of the bank of that city, which yet contained from seven to eight millions of marks. Were those who ordered this measure not aware, that to seize on the funds of some of the citizens of Hamburg was an injury to all foreigners who had funds in the bank? Such is a brief statement of the vexations and cruelties which long oppressed this unfortunate city. Napoleon accused Hamburg of Anglomania, and by ruining her he thought to ruin England. Hamburg, feeble, and bereft of her resources, could only complain, like Jerusalem when besieged by Titus: "*Plorans, ploravit in nocte.*"

[The following additional facts relating to the cruel fate of Hamburg, and the infamous conduct of Davoust, rest on good authority, and will not be read without a melancholy interest.

Marshal Davoust, in Bonaparte's peerage Duke of Auerstädt and Prince of Eckmühl, was one of the least scrupulous of all the French commanders. He was with Napoleon in Egypt and Syria, and dyed his hands in the foul slaughter at Jaffa. He afterwards made himself known and dreaded throughout Germany, and his appointment to be governor of Hamburg was a sure sign to the unhappy citizens that they were to be treated without mercy. His brutal insolence and harshness were almost without a parallel even in those days of violence. Only Vandamme could compete with Davoust. In direct violation of the laws of nations, he arrested M. Becker, a German author, and counsellor of the court of Gotha, and threw him into a dungeon at Magdeburg! The Duke of Weimar interceded for his subject, and declaring M. Becker to be guilty of no offence, begged he might be released. The marshal replied with insulting scorn, and after refusing the duke's request, added, "Besides, the Germans are altogether a stubborn people, and they will hardly become tame and docile until I have made some striking examples, by hanging up on one tree a German prince, a man of letters, and a merchant, as a warning to the rest."*

He compelled the daughters of the best families in Hamburg to work at the fortifications, among common labourers and galley-slaves, as a punishment for their having embroidered the standard of the Hanseatic Legion! A physician of Hamburg, a man of science and general acquirements, appealed to the marshal, who had ordered him to quit his house within half an hour, that it might be converted into a hospital for the soldiery. He represented that his library, his valuable physical apparatus, his anatomical collection, &c., could not be removed in so short

* Life and Campaigns of Field-marshal Prince Blucher.

a time; that if they were left they would be destroyed by the soldiers; and that in those things consisted all the property he had in the world. "Property!" roared Davoust; "How, sir! your property! where can you have property?" And, catching hold of a button of the doctor's coat, he continued, "Not even this button can be called your property—it belongs to the emperor. You must turn out of your house within half an hour. Begone!" On the east side of Hamburg there was a large and pleasant village called Hamm, which was chiefly inhabited by the respectable merchants. In the middle of December Davoust ordered that forty houses in the village should be burnt and levelled with the ground. This was the fourth destruction of the sort which had taken place within fourteen days, on the plea that such measures were necessary for the defence of the city. He promised to allow eight-and-forty hours for the removal of furniture and property; but, before thirty hours had elapsed, the French pioneers, with their matches in their hands, burst into these houses in the night, and burnt or pillaged whatever they found there. The mayor wrote to Davoust, reminding him that he had promised a respite of forty-eight hours, and informing him that this promise had been disregarded. The letter continued, "The remaining inhabitants of Hamm earnestly beseech you to inform them how far the burning of the village may yet extend, as they only request time and notice to remove their effects. I entreat to be favoured with a word of consolation to this effect, that I may communicate it to the distressed parishioners." Ten days after writing this letter the mayor received a verbal message, authorizing him to announce to the inhabitants of Hamm that it was not the marshal's intention to destroy any more houses there. And yet three weeks had hardly elapsed before an order was issued to burn every remaining house in Hamm that very evening! The inhabitants could scarcely remove any of their effects; they were turned out upon the highway in the midst of winter, *without shelter and without bread;* their comfortable homes were consumed in their sight, and they saw their furniture used as fuel in the watch-fires of the French. If any unhappy families clung to the spot, they were forced away at the bayonet's point; if any refused to open their doors, they were fired upon. The ruffianly soldiers went about this cruel work with *gaieté de cœur,* singing and dancing from house to house. Military men have said that this destruction was not even useful as a means of defence, but was committed from mere malignity of heart. In the depth of a most severe winter Davoust turned out of Hamburg all the inhabitants who had not been born in the city, or were not stocked with provisions for six months: no less than thirty thousand were thus driven from their homes. Davoust next ordered the public hospital for the insane and infirm to be cleared out in a few hours for the use of his army. Nearly

four hundred miserable patients of both sexes — idiots and maniacs, the halt, the blind, and the bedridden, were thrust forth and driven together into a field covered with snow! The marauders of Europe, the executioners of these atrocious orders, laughed while they executed them. "Their fits of convulsive laughter, the shouts of the mad," says a German writer, "their weeping, their curses, and their prayers, were alike the subject of mockery for the French; and more than thirty of them were found dead next morning."

According to an official estimate, it appears that the losses which Davoust occasioned to the city and its environs amounted to thirteen millions sterling; that he reduced the population from one hundred and twenty thousand to forty thousand; that he burnt or otherwise destroyed more than fifteen hundred houses; and that in the depth of a German winter he turned out more than sixteen hundred families, whom he had robbed of every thing, to beg their bread or to starve! These were Marshal Davoust's deeds at Hamburg.—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER XXVI.

1813—1814.

Prince Eugène and the affairs of Italy—The army of Italy on the frontiers of Austria—Eugène's regret at the defection of the Bavarians—Murat's dissimulation and perfidy—His treaty with Austria—Hostilities followed by a declaration of war—Murat abandoned by the French generals—Proclamation from Paris—Murat's success—Gigantic scheme of Napoleon—Napoleon advised to join the jacobins—His refusal—Armament of the national guard—The emperor's farewell to the officers—The congress of Châtillon—Refusal of an armistice—Napoleon's character displayed in his negotiations—Opening of the congress—Discussions—Rupture of the conferences.

I SHALL now proceed to notice the affairs of Italy, and the principal events of the viceroyalty of Eugène. In order to throw together all that I have to say about the viceroy, I must anticipate the order of time.

After the campaign of 1812, when Eugène revisited Italy, he was promptly informed of the more than doubtful dispositions of Austria towards France. He then made preparations for raising an army capable of defending the country which the emperor had committed to his safeguard. Napoleon was fully aware how much advantage he would derive from the presence, on the northern frontiers of Italy, of an army sufficiently strong to harass Austria, in case she should draw aside the transparent veil which still covered her policy. Eugène did all that depended on him to meet the emperor's wishes; but, in spite of

his efforts, the army of Italy was, after all, only an imaginary army to those who could compare the number of men actually enrolled, with the numbers stated in the lists. When, in July, 1813, the viceroy was informed of the turn taken by the negotiations at the shadow of a congress assembled at Prague, he had no longer any doubt of the renewal of hostilities; and foreseeing an attack on Italy, he resolved, as speedily as possible, to approach the frontiers of Austria. He had succeeded in assembling an army composed of French and Italians, and amounting to forty-five thousand infantry, and five thousand cavalry. On the renewal of hostilities, the viceroy's head-quarters were at Udina. Down to the month of April, 1814, he succeeded in maintaining a formidable attitude, and in defending the entrance of his kingdom, by dint of that military talent, which was to be expected in a man bred in the great school of Napoleon, and whom the army looked up to as one of its most skilful generals.

During the great and unfortunate events of 1813, all eyes had been fixed on Germany and the Rhine; but the defection of Murat, for a time, diverted attention to Italy. That event did not so very much surprise me; for I had not forgotten my conversation with the King of Naples, in the Champs-Elysées, with which I have made the reader acquainted. At first, Murat's defection was thought incredible by every one, and it highly excited Bonaparte's indignation. Another defection, which occurred about the same period, deeply distressed Eugène; for, though raised to the rank of a prince, and almost a sovereign, he was still a man, and an excellent man. He was united to the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, who was as amiable, and as much beloved, as he; and he had the deep mortification to count the subjects of his father-in-law among the enemies whom he would probably have to combat. Fearing lest he should be harassed by the Bavarians on the side of the Tyrol, Eugène commenced his retrograde movement in the Autumn of 1813. He at first fell back on the Tagliamento, and successively on the Adige. On reaching that river, the army of Italy was considerably diminished, in spite of all Eugène's care of his troops. About the end of November, Eugène learned that a Neapolitan corps was advancing upon Upper Italy, part taking the direction of Rome, and part that of Ancona. The object of the King of Naples was to take advantage of the situation of Europe, and he was duped by the promises held out to him as the reward of his treason. Murat seemed to have adopted the artful policy of Austria; for not only had he determined to join the coalition, but he was even maintaining communications with England and Austria; while, at the same time, he was making protestations of fidelity to his engagements with Napoleon.

When first informed of Murat's treason by the viceroy, the emperor refused to believe it. "No," he exclaimed to those about him, "it cannot be! Murat, to whom I have given my

sister! Murat, to whom I have given a throne! Eugène must be misinformed. It is impossible that Murat has declared himself against me!" It was, however, not only possible, but true. Gradually throwing aside the dissimulation beneath which he had concealed his designs, Murat seemed inclined to renew the policy of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the art of deceiving was deemed by the Italian governments the most sublime effort of genius. Without any declaration of war, Murat ordered the Neapolitan general who occupied Rome to assume the supreme command in the Roman states, and to take possession of the country. General Miollis, who commanded the French troops in Rome, could only throw himself, with his handful of men, into the Castle of St. Angelo, the famous mole of Adrian, in which was long preserved the treasury of Sixtus V.: the French general soon found himself blockaded by the Neapolitan troops, who also blockaded Civita-Vecchia and Ancona.

The treaty concluded between Murat and Austria was definitively signed on the 11th of January, 1814. As soon as he was informed of it, the viceroy, certain that he should soon have to engage with the Neapolitans, was obliged to renounce the preservation of the line of Adige, the Neapolitan army being in the rear of his right wing. He, accordingly, ordered a retrograde movement on the side of the Mincio, where his army was cantoned. In this position Prince Eugène, on the 8th of February, had to engage with the Austrians, who had come up with him, and the victory of the Mincio arrested, for some time, the invasion of the Austrian army, and its junction with the Neapolitan troops. It was not until eight days after, that Murat officially declared war against the emperor; and immediately several general and superior officers, and many French troops, who were in his service, abandoned him, and repaired to the head-quarters of the viceroy. Murat made endeavours to detain them: they replied, that as he had declared war against France, no Frenchman who loved his country could remain in his service. "Do you think," returned he, "that my heart is less French than yours? On the contrary, I am much to be pitied. I hear of nothing but the disasters of the grand army. I have been obliged to enter into a treaty with the Austrians, and an arrangement with the English, commanded by Lord Bentinck, in order to save my kingdom from a threatened landing of the English and the Sicilians, which would infallibly have excited an insurrection."

There could not be a more ingenuous confession of the antipathy which Joachim knew the Neapolitans to entertain towards his person and government.* His address to the French was ineffectual. It was easy to foresee what would ensue. The vice-

* This is not quite correct: the Neapolitans, as a mass, did not entertain an antipathy towards Murat. For an account of these proceedings we refer the reader to notes at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

roy soon received an official communication from Napoleon's war-minister, accompanied by an imperial decree, recalling all the French who were in the service of Joachim, and declaring that all who were taken with arms in their hands should be tried by a court-martial as traitors to their country. Murat commenced by gaining advantages which could not be disputed. His troops almost immediately took possession of Leghorn and the citadel of Ancona, and the French were obliged to evacuate Tuscany.

But, to return to the affairs of France at the end of 1813. The defection of Murat overthrew one of Bonaparte's gigantic conceptions. He had planned that Murat and Eugène, with their combined forces, should march on the rear of the allies, while he, disputing the soil of France with the invaders, should multiply obstacles to their advance; the King of Naples and the Viceroy of Italy were to march upon Vienna and make Austria tremble in the heart of her capital before the timid million of her allies, who measured their steps as they approached Paris, should pollute, by their presence, the capital of France. When informed of the vast project, which however was but the dream of a moment, I immediately recognised that eagle glance, that power of discovering great resources in great calamities, so peculiar to Bonaparte.

Napoleon was yet Emperor of France; but he who had imposed on all Europe treaties of peace no less disastrous than the wars which had preceded them, could not now obtain an armistice; and Caulaincourt, who was sent to treat for one at the camp of the allies, spent twenty days at Luneville before he could even obtain permission to pass the advanced posts of the invading army. In vain did Caulaincourt entreat Napoleon to sacrifice, or at least to resign temporarily, a portion of that glory acquired in so many battles, and which nothing could efface in history. Napoleon replied, "I will sign whatever you wish. To obtain peace I will exact no condition; but I will not dictate my own humiliation." This concession, of course, amounted to a determination not to sign or to grant any thing.

In the first fortnight of January, 1814, one-third of France was invaded, and it was proposed to form a new congress, to be held at Châtillon-sur-Seine. The situation of Napoleon grew daily worse and worse. He was advised to seek extraordinary resources in the interior of the empire, and was reminded of the fourteen armies which rose, as if by enchantment, to defend France at the commencement of the revolution. Finally, a reconciliation with the jacobins, a party who had power to call up masses to aid him, was recommended. For a moment he was inclined to adopt this advice. He rode on horseback through the suburbs of Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marceau, courted the populace, affectionately replied to their acclamations, and he thought he saw the possibility of turning to account the attach-

ment which the people evinced for him. On his return to the palace some prudent persons ventured to represent to him, that instead of courting this absurd sort of popularity it would be more advisable to rely on the nobility and the higher classes of society:—"Gentlemen," replied he, "you may say what you please, but in the situation in which I stand, my only nobility is the rabble of the faubourgs, and I know of no rabble but the nobility whom I have created." This was a strange compliment to all ranks, for it was only saying that they were all rabble together.

At this time the jacobins were disposed to exert every effort to serve him; but they required to have their own way, and to be allowed freely to excite and foster revolutionary sentiments. The press, which groaned under a most odious and intolerable censorship, was to be wholly resigned to them. I do not state these facts from hearsay. I happened by chance to be present at two conferences, in which were set forward projects infected with the odour of the clubs; and these projects were supported with the more assurance, because their success was regarded as certain. Though I had not seen Napoleon since my departure for Hamburg, yet I was sufficiently assured of his feeling towards the jacobins to be convinced that he would have nothing to do with them. I was not wrong. On hearing of the price they set on their services, he said, "This is too much, I shall have a chance of deliverance in battle; but I shall have none with these furious blockheads. There can be nothing in common between the demagogic principles of 93 and the monarchy: between clubs of madmen and a regular ministry; between a committee of public safety and an emperor; between revolutionary tribunals and established laws. If fall I must, I will not bequeath France to the revolutionists, from whom I have delivered her."*

* Lucien Bonaparte indignantly and eloquently contradicts the assertion that his brother, to preserve his power, was willing to ally himself with the fierce jacobins.

"General Lamarque says with reason, that it was the jacobins that the emperor feared. Yes, without doubt he feared them, but it was on account of France.—He knew that the fanaticism of those men of heart and hand was the more redoubtable because it proceeded from a sincere conviction. But liberty, virtue, philosophy, religion, what can they all do with men when they are steeped in blood and dirt? Ought the world to recognise Minerva under the mask of the Furies? To mutilate a political body in order to make it march; to burn it in order to illuminate it; to overturn it in order to sustain it?—Is not this the sad result of the jacobin democracy? Was it not to this frightful system that the French republic owed her fall? and has she not, through unjust prejudice, been held accountable in the eyes of the world for the crimes of the system that destroyed her, and for all the horrors committed under the anti-republican regime of the Reign of Terror?—Yes, it is that regime of fatal memory that has retarded the constitutional reform of Europe by half a century. In subduing that hydra, Napoleon gained his most useful victory; he felt he should dishonour his name if he ever entered into compact with, or encouraged the errors of that faction. Ah! may all the enlightened and generous minds of the youths of France often repeat to themselves, that to dig up the liveries and the examples of the Reign of Terror,

These were golden words, and Napoleon thought of a more noble and truly national mode of parrying the danger which threatened him. He ordered the enrolment of the national guard of Paris, which was placed under the command of Marshal Moncey. A better choice could not have been made; but the staff of the national guard was a focus of hidden intrigues, in which the defence of Paris was less thought about than the means of taking advantage of Napoleon's overthrow. I was made a captain in this guard, and, like the rest of the officers, I was summoned to the Tuileries, on the 21st of January, when the emperor took leave of the national guard, previous to his departure from Paris to join the army. Napoleon entered with the empress. He advanced with a dignified step, leading by the hand his son, who was not yet three years old. It was long since I had seen him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. The habitual movement of the muscles of his neck was more decided and more frequent than formerly. I shall not attempt to describe what were my feelings during this ceremony, when I again saw, after a long separation, the friend of my youth, who had become master of Europe, and was now on the point of sinking beneath the efforts of his enemies. There was something melancholy in this solemn and impressive ceremony. I

is to serve the cause of despotism; that to evoke the names of Robespierre, Marat, St. Just, is to make humanity, which is now advancing, retrograde by bounds into the shades of the past. We ought never to cease in our efforts to repulse every one of these jacobin provocations or stimulants, by universal and vigorous reprobation; for they are all (though some of them may be well intentioned) the most mortal enemies of social progress. All those who have still present to their minds the crimes that stained France in a former generation, ought to repeat them to the generations which follow, whenever, in their imprudent heat, men seem inclined to forget them in order to attach themselves to speculative truths that were also professed by the men of 1793, even while they were slaughtering a world of victims. Were those men thinking of juries when they judged and executed on the bloody decrees of the public prisons? Were they occupied with liberal ideas when in the same cart they carried to the scaffold the three generations of the Malesherbes, when old men, children, young and handsome women, could no longer find on the soil of France one single support to defend them, a single mouth bold enough to pity them! When they coined money in the reeking square of the revolution! When kings, queens, the nobles, the learned, artisans, warriors, and men of the people, fell *pêle-mêle* under the scythe of the great Moloch!—All this, *we* have seen, and we ought to repeat it incessantly to our children. Every thing is preferable to this demagogic fanaticism, ay even an Oriental despotism. For if the East has at times, after a great battle, shown us pyramids of human heads, the jacobin marriages (they were not republican) of the Loire, the mitraillades, the butcheries in the prisons, the *glacières*, are more horrible than the pyramids of Tamerlane. No sword kills so many at one time as the tyranny of the mob. Its field of battle, instead of being circumscribed like that of a conqueror, embraces all cities, all towns and villages, and multiplies itself into forty thousand fields of battle, where those who have been betrayed by victory are struck without pity. Far from us, and for ever, be the sacrilegious admiration of the days of terror. My brother would never have worked with such instruments as the jacobins."—*Réponse de Lucien Bonaparte, Prince de Canino, aux Mémoires du Général Lamarque.* (*Editor.*)

have rarely witnessed such profound silence in so numerous an assembly. At length, Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue his troops, in Italy or in Egypt, but without that air of confidence which then beamed on his countenance, delivered to the assembled officers an address, which was published in all the journals of the time. At the commencement of this address, he said, "I set out this night to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital, I confidently leave behind me my wife and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred." I listened attentively to Napoleon's address, and though he delivered it firmly he either felt, or feigned emotion. Whether or not the emotion was sincere on his part, it was shared by many present; and, for my own part, I confess, that my feelings were deeply moved when he uttered the words, "I leave behind me my wife and my son." At that moment, my eyes were fixed on the young prince; and the interest with which he inspired me was equally unconnected with the splendour which surrounded, and the misfortunes which threatened him. I beheld in the interesting child not the King of Rome, but the son of my old friend.

It may be worth while to remind those who are curious in comparing dates, that Napoleon, the successor of Louis XVI., and who had become the nephew of that monarch, by his marriage with the neice of Marie-Antoinette, took leave of the national guard of Paris on the anniversary of the fatal 21st of January, after twenty-five years of successive terror, fear, hope, glory, and misfortune.

Meanwhile, a congress was opened at Châtillon-sur-Seine, at which were assembled the Duke de Vicenza, on the part of France; Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart,* as the representatives of England; Count Razumowsky, on the part of Russia; Count Stadion, for Austria; and Count Humboldt, for Prussia. Before the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, in conformity with the emperor's orders, demanded an armistice, which is almost invariably granted during negotiations for peace; but it was now too late: the allies had long since determined not to listen to any such demand. They therefore answered the Duke de Vicenza's application, by requiring that the propositions for peace should be immediately signed. But these were not the propositions of Frankfort. The allies established as their basis the limits of the old French monarchy. They conceived themselves authorized in so doing by their success, and by their situation.

To estimate rightly Napoleon's conduct during the negotiations for peace, which took place in the conferences at Châtillon, it is necessary to bear in mind the organization he had received

* Now the Marquis of Londonderry. His lordship has published an interesting account of this congress. It will be found at the end of this chapter. —*Editor.*

from nature, and the ideas with which that organization had imbued him at an early period of life. If the last negotiations of his expiring reign be examined with due attention and impartiality, it will appear evident that the causes of his fall arose out of his character. I cannot range myself among those adulators who have accused the persons about him with having dissuaded him from peace. Did he not say at St. Helena, in speaking of the negotiations at Châtillon, "A thunderbolt alone could have saved us: to treat, to conclude, was to yield foolishly to the enemy." These words forcibly portray Napoleon's character. It must also be borne in mind how much he was captivated by the immortality of the great names which history has bequeathed to our admiration, and which are perpetuated from generation to generation. Napoleon resolved that his name should resound in ages to come, from the palace to the cottage. To live without fame appeared to him an anticipated death. How often in the days of my intimacy with Bonaparte, has he not said to me, "Who knows the names of those kings who have passed from the thrones on which chance, or birth, seated them? They lived and died unnoticed. The learned, perhaps, may find them mentioned in old archives, and a medal or a coin dug from the earth may reveal to antiquarians the existence of a sovereign, of whom they had never before heard. But, on the contrary, when we hear the names of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Mahomet, Charlemagne, Henry IV., and Louis XIV., we are immediately among our intimate acquaintance." I must add, that when Napoleon thus spoke to me in the gardens of Malmaison, he only repeated what had often fallen from him in his youth; for his character and his ideas never varied; the change was in the objects to which they were applied.

From his boyhood Napoleon was fond of reading the history of the great men of antiquity; and what he chiefly sought to discover, was the means by which those men had become great. He remarked, that military glory secures more extended fame than the arts of peace and the noble efforts which contribute to the happiness of mankind. History informs us, that great military talent and victory often give the power, which, in its turn, procures the means of gratifying ambition. Napoleon was always persuaded that that power was essential to him, in order to bend men to his will, and to stifle all discussions on his conduct. It was his established principle never to sign a disadvantageous peace. To him a tarnished crown was no longer a crown. He said one day to M. de Caulaincourt, who was pressing him to consent to sacrifices, "Courage may defend a crown, but infamy never." In all the last acts of Napoleon's career, I can retrace the impress of his character, as I had often recognised in the great actions of the emperor the execu-

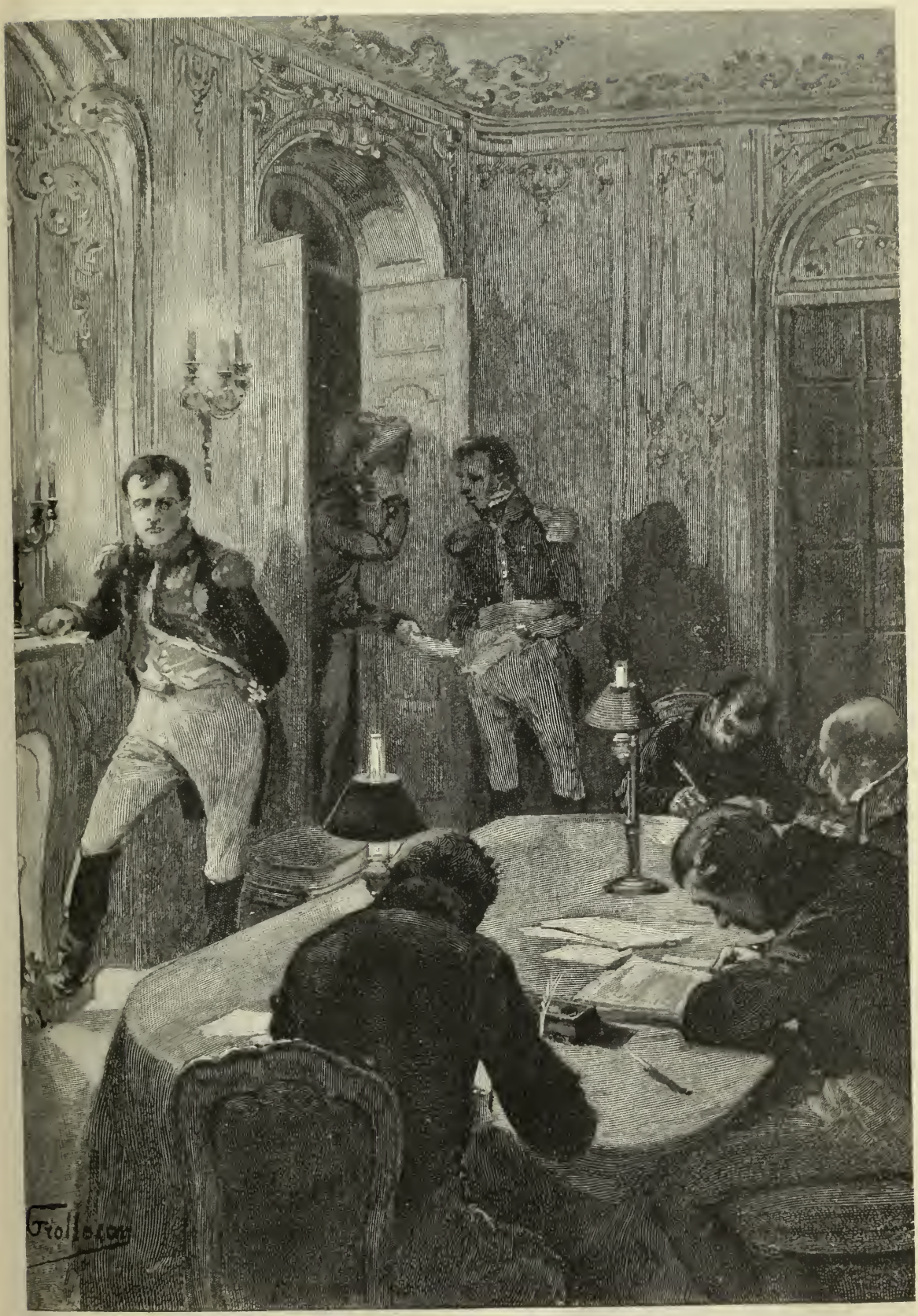
tion of a thought conceived by the general-in-chief of the army of Italy.

On the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, convinced that he could no longer count on the natural limits of France, promised at Frankfort by the allies, demanded new powers. Those limits were doubtless the result of reasonable concessions, and they had been granted even after the battle of Leipsic; but it was now necessary that Napoleon's minister should show himself ready to make further concessions if he wished to be allowed to negotiate. The congress was opened on the 5th of February, and on the 7th the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers declared themselves categorically. They inserted in the protocol, that after the successes which had favoured their arms, they insisted on France being restored to her old limits, such as they were during the monarchy before the revolution; and that she should renounce all direct influence beyond her future limits.

This proposition appeared so extraordinary to M. Caulaincourt, that he requested the sitting might be suspended, since the conditions departed too far from his instructions to enable him to give an immediate answer. The plenipotentiaries of the allied powers acceded to his request, and the continuation of the sitting was postponed till eight in the evening. When it was resumed, the Duke de Vicenza renewed his promise to make the greatest sacrifices for the attainment of peace. He added, that the amount of the sacrifices necessarily depended on the amount of the compensations, and that he could not determine on any concession or compensation without being made acquainted with the whole. He wished to have a general plan of the views of the allies, and he requested that their plenipotentiaries would explain themselves decidedly respecting the number and description of the sacrifices and compensations to be demanded. It must be acknowledged, that the Duke de Vicenza perfectly fulfilled the views of the emperor in thus protracting and gaining time by subtle subterfuges, for all that he suggested had already been done.

On the day after this sitting, some advantages gained by the allies, who took Châtillon-sur-Marne and Troyes, induced Napoleon to direct Caulaincourt to declare to the congress, that if an armistice were immediately agreed on, he was ready to consent to France being restored to her old limits. By securing this armistice, Napoleon hoped that happy chances might arise, and that intrigues might be set on foot; but the allies would not listen to any such proposition.

At the sitting of the 10th of March, the Duke de Vicenza inserted in the protocol, that the last courier he had received had been arrested and detained a considerable time by several Russian general-officers, who had obliged him to deliver up his



BY P. GROLLERON.

NAPOLEON DICTATING TO HIS SECRETARIES.

despatches, which had not been returned to him till thirty-six hours after at Chaumont. Caulaincourt justly complained of this infraction of the law of nations and established usage, which, he said, was the sole cause of the delay in bringing the negotiations to a conclusion. After this complaint he communicated to the congress the ostensible orders of Napoleon, in which he authorized his minister to accede to the demands of the allies. But in making this communication, M. de Caulaincourt took care not to explain the private and secret instructions he had also received. The allies rejected the armistice, because it would have checked their victorious advance; but they consented to sign the definitive peace, which of all things was what the emperor did not wish.

In 1813, Napoleon might have obtained the natural limits of France. Why, then, did he not accept them? Why did he allow himself to be driven to the extremity of discussing about the limits of the old monarchy? He wished to have more than the boundary of the Rhine; of this his letter of the 8th of March is a proof. But could he deceive himself respecting the difference of his situation at Frankfort in November, 1813, and at Châtillon in March, 1814; and in spite of the few advantages acquired in his admirable campaign, could he be blind to his future fate? Could he be ignorant that his obstinate delay had forced the allied sovereigns to sign at Chaumont, on the 1st of March, a treaty by which Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, pledged themselves to continue the war with unrelaxed vigour, until France should be restored to her old limits. Alas! we did not even obtain so much.

Napoleon at length determined to make sacrifices, and the Duke de Vicenza submitted new propositions to the congress. The allies replied, in the same sitting, that these propositions contained no distinct and explicit declaration on the project presented by them on the 17th of February; that having on the 28th of the same month demanded a decisive answer within the term of ten days, they were about to break up the negotiations. Caulaincourt then declared verbally—

1st. That Napoleon was ready to renounce all pretension or influence whatever in countries beyond the boundaries of France.

2d. To recognise the independence of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, and that as to England, France would make such concessions as might be deemed necessary in consideration of a reasonable equivalent.

Upon this, the sitting was immediately broken up without a reply. It must be remarked, that this singular declaration was verbal, and consequently, not binding, and that the limits of France were mentioned without being specified. It cannot be doubted that Napoleon meant the limits conceded at Frankfort, to which he was well convinced the allies would not consent;

for circumstances were now changed. Besides, what could be meant by the *reasonable equivalent* from England ? Is it astonishing that this obscurity and vagueness should have banished all confidence on the part of the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers ? Three days after the sitting of the 10th of March, they declared they could not even enter into a discussion of the verbal protocol of the French minister. They requested that M. de Caulaincourt would declare whether he would accept or reject the project of a treaty presented by the allied courts,* or offer a counter-project.

The Duke de Vicenza, who was still prohibited, by secret instructions, from coming to any conclusion on the proposed basis, inserted in the protocol of the sitting of the 13th of March a very ambiguous note. The plenipotentiaries of the allies, in their reply, insisted upon receiving another declaration from the French plenipotentiary, which should contain an acceptance or refusal of their project of a treaty presented in the conference of the 7th of February, or a counter-project. After much discussion, Caulaincourt agreed to draw up a counter-project, which he presented on the 15th, under the following title : " Project of a definitive Treaty between France and the Allies." In this extraordinary project, presented after so much delay, M. de Caulaincourt, to the great astonishment of the allies, departed in no respect from the declarations of the 10th of March. He replied again to the ultimatum of the allies, or what he wished to regard as such, by defending a multitude of petty interests, which were of no importance in so great a contest ; but in general the conditions seemed rather those of a conqueror dictating to his enemies, than of a man overwhelmed by misfortune. As it may readily be imagined, they were, for the most part, received with derision by the allies.

Every thing tends to prove that the French plenipotentiary had received no positive instructions from the 5th of February, and that, after all the delay which Napoleon incessantly created, Caulaincourt never had it in his power to answer, categorically, the propositions of the allies. And why ? Because Napoleon never intended to make peace at Châtillon on the terms proposed. He always hoped that some fortunate event would enable him to obtain more favourable conditions.

On the 18th of March, that is to say, three days after the presentation of this project of a treaty, the plenipotentiaries of the allies recorded in the protocol their reasons for rejecting the extraordinary project of the French minister. For my part, I was convinced, for the reasons I have mentioned, that the emperor would never agree to sign the conditions proposed in the ultimatum of the allies, dated the 13th of March, and I remember having expressed that opinion to M. de Talleyrand.

* The conditions of this treaty were, the boundaries of France before the revolution.

I saw him on the 14th, and found him engaged in perusing some intelligence he had just received from the Duke de Vicenza, announcing, as beyond all doubt, the early signature of peace. Caulaincourt had received orders to come to a conclusion. Napoleon, he said, had given him a *carte blanche* to save the capital, and avoid a battle, by which the last resources of the nation would be endangered. This seemed pretty positive, to be sure; but even this assurance did not, for a moment, alter my opinion. The better to convince me, M. de Talleyrand gave me Caulaincourt's letter to read. After reading it, I confidently said, "He will never sign the conditions." M. de Talleyrand could not help thinking me very obstinate in my opinion; for he judged of what the emperor would do by his situation, while I judged by his character. I told M. de Talleyrand that Caulaincourt might have received written orders to sign, for the sake of showing them to the plenipotentiaries of the allies; but that I had no doubt he had been instructed to postpone coming to a conclusion, and to wait for final orders. I added, that I saw no reason to change my opinion, and that I continued to regard the breaking up of the congress as nearer than appearances seemed to indicate. Accordingly, three days afterwards, the allies grew tired of the delay and the conferences were broken up. Thus Napoleon sacrificed every thing rather than his glory. He fell from a great height, but he never, by his signature, consented to any dismemberment of France.

The plenipotentiaries of the allies, convinced that these renewed difficulties and demands had no other object but to gain time, stated that the allied powers, faithful to their principles, and in conformity with their previous declarations, regarded the negotiations at Châtillon as terminated by the French government. This rupture of the conferences took place on the 19th of March, six days after the presentation of the ultimatum of the allied powers. The issue of these long discussions was thus left to be decided by the chances of war, which were not very favourable to the man who boldly contended against armed Europe. The successes of the allies during the conferences at Châtillon had opened to their view the road to Paris; while Napoleon shrunk from the necessity of signing his own disgrace. In these circumstances was to be found the sole cause of his ruin, and he might have said, "*Tout est perdu, fors la gloire.*" His glory is immortal.

THE DEFECTION OF MURAT.

"While the Neapolitans began to lose their affection for King Joachim, and the fortunes of France declined more and more, the Emperor of Austria, in the name of the allied sovereigns, offered him his friendship. Already in the fields of Ullendorf, on the

banks of the Ilm, in the midst of so many examples of inconstancy, the Count de Mier, an Austrian envoy, had made overtures to Murat, who had listened to him without displeasure. And here I must reveal the truth, that the king, by nature or by art, was inclined to cunning and duplicity, which he called policy, and believed to be a necessity of government. He boasted of his ability in this way, but, as it generally happens to the rulers of small states, he was duped by others and by his own very arts. Being doubtful of the future, he took counsel of all those Neapolitan ministers and generals in whom he had most confidence. Opinions were divided, one party recommending him to join the allies, and the other to remain faithful to his brother-in-law, Napoleon, who had made him a king."

Murat seeing that fortune was utterly abandoning the standards of the French, that the neutrality of Switzerland was on the point of being violated, that an Austrian army was already on the Adige, that Venice was blockaded, inclined to the Austrian alliance. Just at this moment of indecision the astute and treacherous Fouché arrived at Naples, and had many and long private audiences with Joachim, who was as timid in the cabinet as he was brave in the field. Fouché is said to have been sent by Napoleon to act as a spy on Murat, and discover his intentions. To do this he acted the part of a disgraced and revengeful minister, and joined Murat in his abuse of his brother-in-law.

"Fouché had scarcely departed for Rome, in the middle of December, 1813, when Count Neipperg, another Austrian envoy, arrived and concluded a treaty with the Duke di Gallo, who acted for Naples. This treaty was signed on the 11th of January, 1814. The principal scope of it was the continuation of the war against France for the re-establishment of the political balance in Europe; and, as means to obtain this, Austria was to maintain 150,000 troops, of which 60,000 were to act in Italy, and Naples was to furnish 30,000 men. Fresh levies were to be added by each contracting party, in case of need. The King of Naples was to have the chief command of the confederated forces in Italy, but in case of his absence the command was to fall to an Austrian general of the highest rank.

"The Emperor of Austria recognised the dominion and sovereignty of the states actually possessed by the King of Naples; and the King of Naples recognised the emperor's right to Lombardy, and all the states he had formerly possessed in Italy.

"They agreed to conclude no peace or truce except by mutual consent. The emperor promised to use his good offices to reconcile Naples with England, and the potentates of Europe confederated with Austria.

"By secret articles it was established that the Emperor of Austria would pledge himself to obtain from King Ferdinand, the Bourbon, the cession of the throne of Naples in favour of Joachim Murat; who, on his side, would renounce all preten-

WN BY EUGÈNE COURBOIN.

BONAPARTE'S TERMINATION OF THE INTERVIEW WITH THE AUSTRIAN ENVOY

sions to Sicily, and co-operate, at the general peace, with the other sovereigns of Europe, in obtaining an indemnity to King Ferdinand for his ceded throne of Naples. And as another fruit of this alliance, Joachim was to receive certain territories in the States of the Church, with a population of 400,000 souls."

It was proved, by the event, that Murat was quite capable of breaking faith; but we think it equally certain that Austria contemplated deception in this extraordinary treaty, several articles of which were wholly inexecutable. However, on the 26th of January, the Duke of Gallo and Lord W. Bentinck concluded an armistice, after which hostilities ceased, and a free trade was allowed between Sicily, England, and Naples. At the end of the same month Murat, at the head of a finely-appointed Neapolitan army, marched upon Upper Italy, where, shortly after, he co-operated with the Austrians against the French and northern Italians under the Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais. In April the Neapolitans, fighting with great bravery, defeated the forces of Eugène at Reggio, on the Taro, at Firenzuola, at San Lazzaro, and shortly after, on the arrival of the news that the allies had taken Paris, Eugène was forced to treat, and finally to evacuate all Upper Italy.

More than a year before Murat's secession from the cause of Bonaparte, matters had wellnigh come to extremities between them. They had never been friends since the fatal retreat from Moscow, and they had written the most violent and insulting letters to each other. It will be remembered, that when Napoleon fled from the Niemen to Paris, he left the supreme command of his ruined, demoralized army to Murat, who did his duty until the French were comparatively safe beyond the Oder, and active warfare with the Russians had almost ceased. He then, naturally enough, thought of his pleasant kingdom, his wife, and his children, whom he tenderly loved, and transmitting the command to Eugène Beauharnais, he repaired to Naples.

"As soon as Bonaparte heard that Murat had left the camp, he published the fact in the Moniteur, adding severe censure of Joachim and high praises of Eugène. This was the more cutting, as there had long been envy and enmity between Murat and Beauharnais. Not satisfied with this public revenge, Bonaparte wrote to his sister, the Queen of Naples, calling her husband, Joachim, a defaulter, an ungrateful traitor, incapable of sound policy, unworthy of his relationship, deserving of public and severe chastisement. The king answered this letter directly, saying, among other things—

"'The wound to my honour is already inflicted, and it is not in the power of your majesty to cure it. You have insulted and calumniated an old companion in arms, faithful to you in your dangers, not a small means of your victories, the support of your greatness, the reanimator of your lost courage on the 18th Brumaire.

"'Your majesty says that when a man has the honour of

belonging to your *illustrious family*, he ought to do nothing that may endanger its interests, or cloud its splendour. And I, sire, tell you in reply, that your family received as much honour as it gave when it united me in marriage with Caroline.

"'A thousand times, although a king, have I sighed for those days in which, as a plain soldier, I had my superiors but no master. I became a king; but in this supreme rank I have been tyrannized over by your majesty—domineered over in my family, and I have felt more than ever a longing after independence—a thirst of liberty. Thus do you afflict, thus do you sacrifice to your suspicion those who have been the most faithful to you—the men who have best aided you in the stupendous march of your fortunes. Thus Fouché was sacrificed to Savary, Talleyrand to Champagny, Champagny himself to Bassano, and Murat to Beauharnais—to Beauharnais, who has with you the merit of a mute obedience, and that more grateful one (because the more servile) *of having gaily announced to the senate of France the repudiation and divorce of his own mother.*

"'I can no longer deny my people the restoration of trade, seeing the fatal injuries that the maritime war inflicts upon them.

"'From what I have said your majesty must conclude that our old and mutual faith and confidence are diminished. You may do what you like best; but whatever harm you do me, I am still your brother, and faithful brother-in-law, Joachim.'"*

THE CONFERENCES AT CHATILLON SUR SOANE.

"I shall now briefly recal the reader to that part of my narrative which touched incidentally upon the great diplomatic transactions in progress at this period, and those negotiations which led to the conferences at Châtillon. The principal secretary of state for foreign affairs having received his majesty's command, to repair to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, arrived in the month of January, and immediately entered into the strictest communication with the state-ministers of the allied powers. And here I cannot, in natural feeling, refrain from inserting a paragraph of Lord Burghersh's Memoirs, which states as follows: "The decision now taken in England was to depute one of the cabinet ministers to represent Great Britain in the congress, which appeared now likely to be held for the final arrangement of a secure and lasting peace. Lord Harrowby is understood to have been first thought of for this mission: Lord Castlereagh, however, undertook the charge, and in the beginning

* Il Generale Colletta: Storia del Reame di Napoli. See also, Carlo Botta: Storia d'Italia. (*Editor.*)

of January joined the head-quarters of the sovereigns. No measure was ever wiser, or productive of greater benefits. Lord Castlereagh, by the manliness of his conduct, by the talent which he displayed under the most difficult circumstances, secured more solid advantages, not only to England, but to Europe, than perhaps will ever be generally known or acknowledged. In the various changes of fortune which attended the operations of the campaign of 1814, the steady course with which he pursued the general objects of the alliance, being never led aside from them either by reverses or success, placed him in triumphant contrast with others, who, elated or depressed by the events of each succeeding period, would have ruined their cause, as much by overstrained pretensions in one alternative, as by a conduct totally the reverse in the other. Lord Castlereagh is understood to have left England with instructions to negotiate for peace upon conditions honourable to France, but differing from those proposed at Frankfort, which the change of circumstances had rendered totally inapplicable." The consequence resulting from M. de St. Aignan's early mission from Frankfort, was the appointment of the Duke de Vicenza, Caulaincourt, as French plenipotentiary to treat for a general peace with the allied plenipotentiaries assembled at Châtillon for this great object."

"The ministers met in the middle of February; Lord Aberdeen, Lord Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart, having been named plenipotentiaries on the part of Great Britain; Count Razumoffski on the part of Russia; Count Stadion for Austria; and Baron Von Humboldt for Prussia. These plenipotentiaries continued to assemble and hold repeated conferences until the middle of March; and during the whole of this period the military operations were carried on. I was prevented by my diplomatic duties from witnessing, and consequently detailing any personal observations on the military movements during the same interval; but the British government were accurately informed of the course of the operations by Colonel Lowe's and Lord Burghersh's very able communications.

"The time may possibly arrive when I shall think myself justified in giving the history of the diplomatic transactions of this little congress at this period. I retain my own minutes of every minister's remarks on all the subjects of discussion, from which a summary might be drawn up, not uninteresting to posterity. It may not here, however, be irrelevant to remark, that it was easy to perceive from the first discussions, as to the terms of peace for Europe, that the most serious difficulties presented themselves; and while the statesmanlike views of the ministers were influenced by the peculiar feelings of their sovereigns on the spot, it was hardly possible to predict how any ultimate good could be accomplished.

"To prove more strongly the truth of what I have asserted, I

shall now relate a non-official conversation I held about this period with the Emperor Alexander. His imperial majesty's known condescension of character, and the marked kindness and good-nature he invariably showed me, penetrated me with sincere attachment and devotion to his person, and on various occasions he honoured me by communicating his observations and sentiments. At this period, one of the most difficult and interesting points for adjustment at a general peace, was the fate of the Polish nation, and this peace now began confidently to be looked for. In one of my interviews with the emperor, his imperial majesty dwelt at great length on the immense sacrifices of Russia, and putting these foremost in his statement, he declared how doubly necessary it became him, on the eve of a settlement of Europe, to look to the permanent interests of his own empire. His imperial majesty stated, that his moral feelings, however, and every principle of justice and right called upon him to use all his power to restore such a constitution to Poland as would secure the happiness of so fine and so great a people. The abandonment of seven millions of his subjects, were he to relinquish his Polish provinces in any general arrangement, without a sufficient guarantee to his country for the great utility and advantage of the measure, would be more than his imperial crown was worth. But the consolidating these provinces with the duchy of Warsaw, under such a king, and such a constitutional administration as Russia would name, would be productive of the happiest effects. His imperial majesty continued to observe that his character was well known, and ought to give full confidence to Europe. I remarked in reply, that Europe could not ensure herself at all times an Alexander on the throne. To which his imperial majesty rejoined, that the Grand Duke Constantine partook entirely of his own sentiments, as well as his two brothers. He was happy also to believe that the proposition he had started, and the mode in which he viewed it, were seen by Austria in the same light. That he had a very long conversation with Prince Metternich a day or two since, in which the whole of his majesty's plan had been opened, and that the prince had nothing to say against it (*n'avait rien contre*), or words to this purpose.

"I was considerably struck at the time with so extraordinary a declaration from his majesty; and I ventured not only to express my surprise, but to assure his majesty that Prince Metternich had held a very different language to me, and that I never could suppose he would leave to England the task of being the only power which would oppose itself to his imperial majesty's views in case they should not meet with general concurrence, when they were of so much more vital interest to Austria and Prussia.

"His imperial majesty next alluded, rather in a menacing manner, to his power of taking military occupation of Poland,

and seemed to be certain of the facility with which he could obtain his end; and I doubted much, from the firm and positive manner in which he expressed himself, whether he would ever be diverted from the purpose he now declared. This *exposé* of a great monarch's mind was deeply interesting at the moment it was communicated; and later events showed (notwithstanding the complex character of this question), how sedulously the Emperor of Russia's efforts were thus early directed towards it.

"But confining myself at present to my military narrative, I shall only now insert in the Appendix the declaration of the allied plenipotentiaries, which after much fruitless delay and manœuvring on the part of the French plenipotentiary to gain time, ended by dissolving the congress, and by the return of the ministers to their respective head-quarters. Averse as I had ever been to the whole arrangements and negotiations with M. de St. Aignan, followed up as they were by the conferences at Châtillon, I sincerely rejoiced at their termination; and it was soon indeed perceptible, that the Duke de Vicenza neither talked the language, nor was kept *au courant* of the projects of Napoleon; and that the only desire the latter had was to protract an idle negotiation to cover his own deeper designs and objects. The allies were too long trifled with; and to have permitted it to be spun out longer, would have been unpardonable. I must do Caulaincourt the justice to record, that if it had depended upon him, he was sincerely desirous of obtaining a peace for his emperor, whose predicament he evidently saw was becoming daily more perilous.

"To the memory of these interesting days I must add, that the conviviality and harmony that reigned between the ministers, made the society and intercourse at Châtillon most agreeable. The diplomatists dined alternately with each other; M. de Caulaincourt liberally passing for all the ministers, through the French advanced posts, convoys of all the good cheer, in epicurean wines, &c., that Paris could afford; nor was female society wanting to complete the charm, and banish *ennui* from the Châtillon congress, which I am sure will be long recollected with sensations of pleasure by all the plenipotentiaries there engaged."

DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Châtillon, February 28, 1814.

"Many days having elapsed since the project of the preliminaries of a general peace was presented by the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts to Monsieur the French plenipotentiary, and no reply having been given either in the form of an acceptance, or in the form of a modification of the said project, their majesties, imperial and royal, have thought fit to demand from the French plenipotentiary a distinct

and explicit declaration from his government on the project in question. The plenipotentiaries of the allied courts are of opinion that there is so much the less motive for delay on the part of the French government with respect to a decision on the preliminaries proposed, since the project presented by them is, in substance, based on an offer made by the plenipotentiary of France in his letter to the Prince of Metternich, dated the 9th of this month, which the prince has submitted to the allied courts. Moreover, the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts are charged to declare in the name of their sovereigns, who fully adhere to the substance of the demands contained in these conditions, which they regard as being as essential to the security of Europe, as necessary to the arrangement of a general peace, that they could not interpret any ulterior delay of an answer to their propositions in any other sense than as a refusal on the part of the French government.

"In consequence, the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts, ready to act in concert with Monsieur the French plenipotentiary as to the time indispensably necessary to communicate with his government, have orders to declare, that if, at the expiration of the term judged necessary no answer shall have arrived, the negotiation must be regarded as finished, and the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts will return to head-quarters."—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

1814.

Curious conversation between General Reynier and the Emperor Alexander—Napoleon repulses the Prussians—The Russians at Fontainebleau—Battle of Brienne—Sketch of the campaign of France—Supper after the battle of Champ-Aubert—Intelligence of the arrival of the Duke d'Angoulême and the Count d'Artois in France—The battle of the ravens and the eagle—Battle of Craonne—Departure of the pope and the Spanish princes—Capture of a convoy—Macdonald at the emperor's head-quarters—The inverted cipher.

I was always persuaded, and every thing I have since seen has confirmed my opinion, that the allies entering France had no design of restoring the house of Bourbon, or of imposing any government whatever on the French people. They came to destroy and not to found. That which they wished to destroy from the commencement of their success was Napoleon's supremacy; in order to prevent the future invasions with which they believed Europe would still be constantly threatened. If, indeed, I had entertained any doubt on this subject, it would have been banished by the account I heard of General Reynier's con-

versation with the Emperor Alexander. That general, who was made prisoner at Leipsic, was exchanged, and returned to France. In the beginning of February, 1814, he passed through Troyes, where the Emperor Alexander then was. Reynier expressed a desire to be allowed to pay his respects to the emperor, and to thank him for having restored him to liberty. He was received with that affability of manner, which was sometimes affected by the Russian monarch. On his arrival at Paris, General Reynier called at the Duke de Rovigo's, where I had dined that day. He related in my hearing the conversation to which I have alluded, and stated that it had all the appearance of sincerity on the emperor's part. Having asked Alexander whether he had any instructions for Napoleon, as the latter, on learning that he had seen his majesty, would not fail to ask him many questions, he replied that he had nothing particular to communicate to him. Alexander added that he was Napoleon's friend, but that he had, personally, much reason to complain of his conduct; that the allies would have nothing more to do with him; that they had no intention of forcing any sovereign upon France; but that they would no longer acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor of the French. "For my part," said Alexander, "I can no longer place any confidence in him. He has deceived me too often." In reply to this, Reynier made some remarks, dictated by his attachment and fidelity to Bonaparte. He observed that Napoleon was acknowledged as sovereign of France by every treaty. "But," added Reynier, "if you should persist in forcing him to resign the supreme power, whom will you put in his place?"—"Did you not choose him; why then can you not choose another to govern you? I repeat that we do not intend to force any one upon you: but we will have no more to do with him."

Several generals were then named; and after Reynier had explained the great difficulties which would oppose any such choice, Alexander interrupted him, saying, "But, general, there is Bernadotte. Has he not been voluntarily chosen Prince Royal of Sweden; may he not also be raised to the same rank in France? He is your countryman; surely then you may choose him, since the Swedes took him, though a foreigner." General Reynier, who was a man of firm character, started some objections, which I thought at the time well founded; and Alexander put an end to the conversation by saying, rather in a tone of dissatisfaction, "Well, general, the fate of arms will decide."

The campaign of France forced Napoleon to adopt a kind of operations quite new to him. He had been accustomed to attack; but he was now obliged to stand on his defence, so that instead of having to execute a previously conceived plan, as when, in the cabinet of the Tuileries, he traced out to me the field of Marengo, he had now to determine his movements ac-

cording to those of his numerous enemies. When the emperor arrived at Chalons-sur-Marne, the Prussian army was advancing by the road of Lorrain. He drove it back beyond Saint-Dizier. Meanwhile, the grand Austro-Russian army passed the Seine and the Yonne at Montreau; and even sent forward a corps which advanced as far as Fontainebleau. Napoleon then made a movement to the right in order to drive back the troops which threatened to march on Paris; and, by a curious chance, he came up with the troops in the very place where he passed the boyish years in which he cherished what then seemed wild and fabulous dreams of his future fate. What thoughts and recollections must have crowded on his mind, when he found himself an emperor and a king, at the head of a yet powerful army, in the chateau of the Count de Brienne, to whom he had so often paid his homage! It was at Brienne that he had said to me, thirty-four years before, "I will do these Frenchmen all the harm I can." Since then he had certainly changed his mind; but it might be said that fate persisted in forcing the man to realize the design of the boy in spite of himself. No sooner had Napoleon revisited Brienne, as a conqueror, than he was repulsed and hurried towards his fall, which became every moment more certain.

I shall not enter into any details of the campaign of France, because the description of battles forms no part of my plan.* Still I think it indispensable briefly to describe Napoleon's miraculous activity, from the time of his leaving Paris, to the entrance of the allies into the capital. Few successful campaigns have enabled our generals and the French army to reap so much glory as they gained during this great reverse of fortune. For it is possible to triumph without honour, and to fall with glory. The chances of the war were not doubtful; but certainly the numerous hosts of the allies could never have counted on so long and brilliant a resistance. The theatre of the military operations soon approached so near to Paris, that the general eagerness for news from the army was speedily satisfied; and when any advantage was gained by the emperor, his partisans saw the enemy already repulsed from the French territory. I was not for a moment deceived by these illusions, as I well knew the determination and the resources of the allied sovereigns. Besides, events were so rapid and various in this war of extermination, that the guns of the Invalides announcing a victory, were sometimes immediately followed by the distant rolling of artillery, denoting the enemy's near approach to the capital.

The emperor left Paris on the 25th of January, at which time the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia,

* An engagement took place at Brienne; and Napoleon, with fifteen thousand men, kept eighty thousand Russians in check for twelve hours.

E. Lami, p.

NAPOLÉON A MONTEREAU

NAPOLEON AT MONTEREAU

NAPOLEON AT MONTEREAU.

The Emperor is here seen pointing a cannon. This was not the first occasion on which he had served a piece of artillery. It has been asserted by some that he was an admirable marksman, while others have maintained the contrary. At Montereau all the ardour of youth seemed to revive within him, and his military genius appeared as vigorous as in his earlier engagements.

On the 18th February, 1814, General Briancks had taken his position with two divisions of Austrians, and two of Wirtembergians, upon the heights before Montereau, covering the bridges of the city. General Chateau attacked him in vain, and was obliged to retire. The troops commanded by General Gerard, sustained the combat all the morning. Napoleon arrived at the field of battle, and immediately attacked the platform. General Pajol charged the Allied army, and drove the troops into the Seine and the Yonne. The effect of these successive charges was to drive General Bianchi, who lost 9,000 men, in every direction. The French filed over the bridges which the Allies had not been able to destroy.

This series of unexpected triumphs, revived the hopes of Napoleon. Instead of the doubtful battle which he would willingly have avoided, he had to recount four memorable victories: namely—those of Mormant, Valjouan, Montmirail, and Montereau.

At the close of the last decisive combat, Napoleon observed, "My heart is satisfied. I will return to preserve the capital of my empire."

were assembled at Langres. Napoleon rejoined his guard at Vitry-le-Français. On the second day after his departure he drove before him the Prussian army, which he had forced to evacuate Saint-Dizier. Two days after this the battle of Brienne was fought; and on the 1st of February between seventy and eighty thousand French and allied troops stood face to face. On this occasion the commanders on both sides were exposed to personal danger; for Napoleon had a horse killed under him, and a Cossack fell dead by the side of Marshal Blucher.

A few days after this battle Napoleon entered Troyes, where he stayed but a short time, and then advanced to Champ-Aubert. At the latter place was fought the battle which bears its name. The Russians were defeated, General Alsufieff was made prisoner, and two thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French. After this battle, the emperor was under such a delusion as to his situation, that while supping with Berthier, Marmont, and his prisoner, General Alsufieff, the emperor said, "Another such victory as this, gentlemen, and I shall be on the Vistula." Finding that no one replied, and reading in the countenances of his marshals that they did not share his hopes, "I see how it is," he added, "every one is growing tired of war; there is no more enthusiasm. The sacred fire is extinct." Then rising from the table, and stepping up to General Drouot, with the marked intention of paying him a compliment, which should at the same time convey a censure on the marshals, "General," said he, patting him on the shoulder, "we only want a hundred men like you, and we should succeed." Drouot replied, with great presence of mind and modesty, "Rather say a hundred thousand, sire." This anecdote was related to me by the two principal persons who were present on the occasion."

Napoleon soon began to have other subjects of disquietude besides the fate of battles. He was aware, that since the beginning of February, the Duke d'Angoulême had arrived at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, whence he had addressed a proclamation to the French armies in the name of his uncle, Louis XVIII.; and he speedily heard of the Count d'Artois's arrival at Vesoul, on the 21st of February, which place he did not leave until the 16th of March following.

Meanwhile hostilities were maintained with increased vigour over a vast line of operations. How much useless glory did not our soldiers gain in these conflicts! In spite of prodigies of valour the enemy's masses advanced, and approximated to a central point, so that this war might be compared to the battles of the ravens and the eagle in the Alps. The eagle slays hundreds of his assailants, every blow of his beak is the death of an enemy; but still the ravens return to the charge, and press upon the eagle until they destroy him.

As the month of February drew to its close, the allies were in

retreat on several points; but their retreat was not a rout. After experiencing reverses they fell back without disorder, and retired behind the Aube, where they rallied and obtained numerous reinforcements, which daily arrived, and which soon enabled them to resume the offensive.

Still Napoleon continued astonishing Europe, leagued as it was against him. At Craonne, on the 7th of March, he destroyed Blucher's corps, in a severe action; but the victory was attended by great loss to the conqueror. Marshal Victor was seriously wounded, as well as Generals Grouchy and Ferrière.

While Napoleon was resisting the numerous enemies assembled to destroy him, it might be said that he was his own enemy, either from false calculation, or from negligence with respect to his illustrious prisoners, who, on his departure from Paris, had not yet been sent to their states. The pope was then at Fontainebleau, and the princes of Spain at Valencey. The pope, however, was the first to be allowed to depart. Surely Bonaparte could never have thought of the service which the pope might have rendered him at Rome, into which Murat's troops would never have dared to march had his holiness been present there. With regard to the Spanish princes, Napoleon must have been greatly blinded by confidence in his fortune to have so long believed it possible to retain in France those useless trophies of defeated pretensions. It was, besides, so easy to get rid of the residents of Valencey, by sending them back to the place from whence they had been brought! It was so natural to recal with all speed the troops from the south, when our armies in Germany began to be repulsed on the Rhine, and even driven into France! With the aid of these veteran troops, Napoleon and his genius might have again turned the scale of fortune. But Napoleon reckoned on the nation, and he was wrong; for the nation was tired of him. His cause had ceased to be the cause of France.

The latter days of March were filled up by a series of calamities to Napoleon. On the 23d the rear guard of the French army suffered considerable loss. To hear of attacks on his rear guard must indeed have been mortifying to Napoleon, whose advanced guards had been so long accustomed to open the path of victory! Prince Schwartzenberg soon passed the Aube, and marched upon Vitry and Chalons. Napoleon, counting on the possibility of defending Paris, threw himself, with the velocity of the eagle, on Schwartzenberg's rear, by passing by Doulevant and Bar-sur-Aube. He pushed forward his advanced guards to Chaumont, and there saw the Austrian army make a movement, which he took to be a retreat; but it was no such thing. The movement was directed on Paris, while Blucher, who had reoccupied Chalons-sur-Marne, marched to meet Prince Schwartzenberg, and Napoleon, thinking to cut off their

FROM THE PAINTING BY JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID, IN THE COLLECTION OF M. ROTHAN. ENGRAVED BY E. H. DEL'ORME.

ÉTIENNE-JACQUES-JOSEPH-ALEXANDRE MACDONALD, DUKE OF TARENTUM.

retreat, was himself cut off from the possibility of returning to Paris. Every thing then depended on the defence of Paris; or, to speak more correctly, it seemed possible, by sacrificing the capital, to prolong for a few days the existence of the phantom of the empire which was rapidly vanishing. On the 26th was fought the battle of Fère Champenoise, where valour yielding to numbers, Marshals Marmont and Mortier were obliged to retire upon Sezanne, after sustaining considerable loss.

It was on the 26th of March, and I beg the reader to bear this date in mind, that Napoleon suffered a loss, which, in the circumstances in which he stood, was irreparable. At the battle of Fère Champenoise, the allies captured a convoy, consisting of nearly all the remaining ammunition and stores of the army; a vast quantity of arms, cassoons, and equipage of all kinds. The whole became the prey of the allies, who published a bulletin, announcing this important capture. A copy of this order of the day fell into the hands of Marshal Macdonald, who thought that such news ought immediately to be communicated to the emperor. He therefore repaired himself to the head-quarters of Napoleon, who was then preparing to recover Vitry-le-Français, which was occupied by the Prussians. The marshal, with the view of dissuading the emperor from what he considered a vain attempt, presented him with the bulletin.

This was on the morning of the 27th; Napoleon would not believe the news. "No!" said he to the marshal, "you are deceived, this cannot be true." Then perusing the bulletin with more attention—"Here," said he, "look yourself. This is the 27th, and the bulletin is dated the 29th. You see the thing is impossible. The bulletin is forged!" The marshal, who had paid more attention to the news than to its date, was astounded. But having afterwards shown the bulletin to Drouot, that general said, "Alas! marshal, the news is but too true. The error of the date is merely a misprint, the 9 is a 6 inverted!" On what trifles sometimes depend the most important events. An inverted cipher sufficed to flatter Bonaparte's illusion, or, at least, the illusions which he wished to maintain among his most distinguished lieutenants, and to delay the moment when they should discover that the loss they deplored was too certain. On that very day the empress left Paris.

The grand total of the Austrian army assembled at Dijon, in 1814, was—infantry, 199,000, cavalry, 34,920.

This imposing force was divided into five corps.

The first under Count Colloredo and General Lederer.

The second under Prince Hohenzollern.

The third under the Crown Prince of Wirtemberg and Prince Philip of Hesse Homburg.

The fourth, composed wholly of Bavarians, and amounting to 65,000, under Field-marshal the Prince Wrede.

And the reserve corps under the Archduke Ferdinand and the Prince of Hesse Homburg.

The grand total of the army of Prussians, Russians, &c., was about 120,000.

The whole armed force of Napoleon did not exceed 125,000.

In this defensive campaign of 1814, the genius of Bonaparte displayed itself with wonderful brilliancy. According to the Marquis of Londonderry—

"Napoleon, after the battles of Brienne and La Rothiere, displayed, by his masterly movements with an inferior against *two* superior armies, and by braving his accumulated difficulties, that undoubted science in war which his bitterest enemies must accord to his genius. In proportion as his embarrassments increased, he seemed to rise superior as an individual. During his adverse fortune on the Elbe he appeared fluctuating and irresolute; and his lengthened stay in untenable and disadvantageous positions, was the cause of his fatal overthrow at Leipsic, and of subsequent misfortunes. But now he appeared once more to have burst forth with all his talent, and all his energies and mental resources."*

At the battle of La Rothiere Napoleon exhibited great personal courage:

"Bonaparte was seen to encourage his troops, and expose his person fearlessly during the combat; and Marshal Blucher's movement of his cavalry, which he himself led on, was spoken of in the highest terms. Napoleon, who, at this period, scarcely acted, in any instance, on common military calculation, drew up his army on the 1st of February in two lines, on the great plain before La Rothiere, occupying the villages, and neglecting much stronger ground in his rear about Brienne, evidently showing that he meant to play a desperate game. He led on *la jeune garde* in person against Marshal Blucher's army, to wrest the village of La Rothiere from the gallant corps of Sacken; but three repeated efforts were ineffectual. All agreed that the enemy fought with great intrepidity. Bonaparte seemed to have set his political existence on a die, as he exposed himself every where: his horse was shot under him, and he had the mortification of witnessing the capture of a battery in charge of *la jeune garde*. Had Marshal Blucher not previously immortalized himself, this day would have crowned him in the annals of fame; for whatever were the well-grounded apprehensions entertained by many for the result of the Prince of Wirtemberg's attack on the right, the marshal dauntlessly effected those combinations upon which the result of the day depended. The Russian artillery were spoken of in the highest terms: the ground was covered with snow, and so deep,

* See Narrative of the War in Germany and France in 1813 and 1814.

that they were obliged to leave one half of their guns in the rear. Yet by harnessing double teams to the other half, they contrived to bring those forward and get a sufficient number into action. The allies brought about 70 or 80,000 men into this battle; the other corps of the army were not yet in line: the French were supposed to have about the same strength. The enemy's last attack on the village of La Rothiere was at two o'clock on the morning of the 2d, immediately after which they commenced their retreat. Passing the Aube river, they took up a very strong rear-guard position in the neighbourhood of Lesmont."*—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1814.

The men of the revolution and the men of the empire—The council of regency—Departure of the empress from Paris—Marmont and Mortier—Joseph's flight—Meeting at Marmont's hotel—Capitulation of Paris—Marmont's interview with the emperor at Fontainebleau—Colonels Fabvier and Denys—The royalist cavalcade—Meeting at the hotel of the Count de Morfontaine—M. de Chateaubriand and his pamphlet—Deputation to the Emperor Alexander—Entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris—Alexander lodged in M. Talleyrand's hotel—Meetings held there—The Emperor Alexander's declamation—My appointment as postmaster-general.

The grandees of the empire, the first subjects of Napoleon, were divided into two classes, totally distinct from each other. Among these patronized men were many who had been the first patrons of Bonaparte, and had favoured his accession to consular power. This class was composed of his old friends and former companions in arms. The others, who may be called the children of the empire, did not carry back their thoughts to a period which they had not seen. They had never known any thing but Napoleon and the empire, beyond which the sphere of their ideas did not extend; while among Napoleon's old brothers-in-arms it was still remembered that there was once a country, a France, before they had helped to give it a master. To this class of men France was not confined to the narrow circle of the imperial head-quarters, but extended to the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the two oceans.

On the other hand, numbers of ardent and adventurous young men, full of enthusiasm for Bonaparte, had flown from the school to the camp. They were entirely opposed to Napoleon's downfal, because, with his power would vanish those dreams of glory and fortune which had captivated their imaginations. These young men, who belonged to the class which I have deno-

* Lord Londonderry.

minated children of the empire, were prepared to risk and commit every thing to prolong the political life of their emperor.

The distinction I have drawn between what may be called the men of France and the men of the empire, was not confined to the army, but was equally marked among the high civil functionaries of the state. The old republicans could not possibly regard Napoleon with the same eyes as those whose elevation dated only from Napoleon; and the members of assemblies anterior to the 18th Brumaire, could not entertain the same ideas as those whose notions of national franchises and public rights were derived from their seats as auditors in the council of state. I know not whether this distinction between the men of two different periods has been before pointed out; but it serves to explain the conduct of many persons of elevated rank during the events of 1814. With regard to myself, convinced as I was of the certainty of Napoleon's fall, I conceived that the first duty of every citizen was claimed by his country; and although I may incur censure, I candidly avow that Napoleon's treatment of me during the four last years of his power was not without some influence on my prompt submission to the government which succeeded his. I, however, declare that this consideration was not the sole, nor the most powerful, motive of my conduct. Only those who were in Paris at the period of the capitulation can form an idea of the violence of party feeling which prevailed there both for and against Napoleon, but without the name of the Bourbons ever being pronounced. They were almost unknown to the new generation, forgotten by many of the old, and feared by the conventionalists; at that time they possessed only the frail support of the coteries of the Faubourg St. Germain, and some remains of the emigration. But as it is certain that the emigrants could offer only vain demonstrations and wishes in support of the old family of our kings, they did little to assist the restoration of the Bourbons. Another thing equally certain is, that they alone, by their follies and absurd pretensions, brought about the return of Bonaparte, and the second exile of Louis XVIII. in the following year.

On the 28th of March was convoked an extraordinary council of regency, at which Maria Louisa presided. The question discussed was, whether the empress should remain in Paris, or proceed to Blois. Joseph Bonaparte strongly urged her departure, because a letter from the emperor had directed, that in case of Paris being threatened, the empress-regent, and all the council of regency, should retire to Blois. The arch-chancellor, and the majority of the council, were of the same opinion; but one of the most influential members of the council observed to Joseph, that the letter referred to had been written under circumstances very different from those then existing; and that it was important the empress should remain in Paris, where she would, of course, obtain from the emperor, her father, and the

NAPOLEON AT ARCIS-SUR-AUBE.

In the night between the 16th and 17th of February, 1814, Napoleon, accompanied by a small escort of Polish lancers, reconnoitred the enemy's line, when, on leaving Arcis, he was attacked by a corps of Russian cuirassiers and Cossacks. The Poles, commanded by Skrzinecki, their captain, rapidly formed into square about the emperor; and, though the enemy in front were supposed to be six times their number, they succeeded in repulsing them, and rescued Napoleon from his imminent danger.

allied sovereigns, more advantageous conditions than if she were fifty leagues from Paris. The adoption of this opinion would only have retarded, for a few days, a change which had become inevitable; nevertheless it might have given rise to great difficulties. It must be admitted, that for the interests of Napoleon it was the wisest counsel that could be suggested. However, it was overruled by Joseph's advice.

On the departure of the empress, many persons expected a popular movement in favour of a change of government; but the capital remained tranquil. Many of the inhabitants, indeed, thought of defence, not for the sake of preserving Napoleon's government, but merely from that ardour of feeling which belongs to our national character. Strong indignation was excited by the thought of seeing foreigners masters of Paris—a circumstance of which there had been no example since the reign of Charles VII. Meanwhile the critical moment approached. On the 29th of March, Marshals Marmont and Mortier fell back to defend the approaches to Paris. During the night the barriers were consigned to the care of the national guard, and not a foreigner, not even one of their agents, was allowed to enter the capital.

At daybreak, on the 30th of March, the whole population of Paris was awakened by the report of cannon; and the plain of St. Denis was soon covered with allied troops, who were debouching upon it from all points. The heroic valour of our troops was unavailing against such a numerical superiority. But the allies paid dearly for their entrance into the French capital. The national guard, under the command of Marshal Moncey, and the pupils of the Polytechnic school, transformed into artillery men, behaved in a manner worthy of veteran troops. The conduct of Marmont, on that day alone, would suffice to immortalize him. The corps he commanded was reduced to between seven and eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry; with whom, for the space of twelve hours, he maintained his ground against an army of fifty-five thousand men, of whom it is said fourteen thousand were killed, wounded, and taken. Marshal Marmont put himself so forward in the heat of the battle, that a dozen of men were killed by the bayonet at his side, and his hat was perforated by a ball. But what was to be done against overwhelming numbers!

In this state of things the Duke de Ragusa made known his situation to Joseph Bonaparte, who authorized him to negotiate.

Joseph's answer is so important, in reference to the events which succeeded, that I will transcribe it here:

If the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso can no longer hold out, they are authorized to negotiate with Prince Schwartzenberg and the Emperor of Russia, who are before them.

They will fall back on the Loire. JOSEPH.

Montmartre, March 30, 1814;
¼ past 12 o'clock.

It was not until a considerable time after the receipt of this formal authority that Marmont and Mortier ceased to make a vigorous resistance against the allied army; for the suspension of arms was not agreed upon until four in the afternoon. It was not waited for by Joseph; at a quarter past twelve, that is to say, immediately after he had addressed to Marmont the authority just alluded to, Joseph repaired to the Bois-de-Boulogne to regain the Versailles road, and from thence to proceed to Rambouillet. The precipitate flight of Joseph astonished only those who did not know him. I know for a fact, that several officers attached to his staff were much dissatisfied at his precipitate flight.

In these circumstances what was to be done but to save Paris, which there was no possibility of defending two hours longer. Methinks I still see Marmont, when, on the evening of the 30th of March, he returned from the field of battle to his hotel in the Rue de Paradis, where I was waiting for him, together with about twenty other persons; among whom were MM. Perregaux and Lafitte. When he entered, he was scarcely recognizable: he had a beard of eight days' growth; the great-coat which covered his uniform was in tatters, and he was blackened with powder from head to foot. We considered what was best to be done, and all insisted on the necessity of signing a capitulation. The marshal must recollect, that the exclamation of every one about him was, "France must be saved." MM. Perregaux and Lafitte delivered their opinions in a very decided way; and it will readily be conceived how great was the influence of two men who were at the head of the financial world. They alleged, that the general wish of the Parisians, which nobody had a better opportunity of knowing than themselves, was decidedly averse to a protracted conflict, and that France was tired of the yoke of Bonaparte. This last declaration gave a wider range to the business under consideration. The question was no longer confined to the capitulation of Paris; but a change in the government was thought of, and the name of the Bourbons was pronounced for the first time. I do not recollect which of us it was who, on hearing mention made of the possible recal of the old dynasty, remarked how difficult it would be to bring about a restoration without retrograding to the past. But I think I am perfectly correct in stating, that M. Lafitte said, "Gentlemen, we shall have nothing to fear if we have a good constitution which will guarantee the rights of all. The majority of the meeting concurred in this wise opinion, which was not without its influence on Marshal Marmont.

During this miserable meeting an unexpected incident occurred. One of the emperor's aides-de-camp arrived at Marmont's. Napoleon being informed of the advance of the allies on Paris, had marched with the utmost speed from the banks of the Marne on the road of Fontainebleau. In the evening he was in person at Froidmanteau, whence he despatched his envoy

to Marshal Marmont. From the language of the aide-de-camp it was easy to perceive that the state of opinion at the imperial head-quarters was very different from that which prevailed among the population of Paris. The officer expressed indignation at the very idea of capitulating, and he announced with inconceivable confidence the approaching arrival of Napoleon in Paris, which he yet hoped to save from the occupation of the enemy. The officer informed us that Napoleon trusted to the people rising in spite of the capitulation, and that they would unpave the streets to stone the allies on their entrance. I ventured to dissent from this absurd idea of defence, and I observed, that it was madness to suppose that Paris could resist the numerous troops who were ready to enter on the following day; that the suspension of arms had been consented to by the allies only to afford time for drawing up a more regular capitulation; and that the armistice could not be broken without trampling on all the laws of honour. I added, that the thoughts of the people were directed towards a better future; that the French were tired of a despotic government, and of the distress to which continual war had reduced trade and industry; "for," said I, "when a nation is sunk to such a state of misery, its hopes can only be directed towards the future; it is natural they should be so directed, even without reflection." Most of the individuals present concurred in my opinion, and the decision of the meeting was unanimous. Marshal Marmont has since said to me, "I have been blamed, my dear Bourrienne: but you were with me on the 30th of March. You were a witness to the wishes expressed by a portion of the principal inhabitants of Paris. I acted as I was urged to do only because I considered the meeting to be composed of men entirely disinterested, and who had nothing to expect from the return of the Bourbons."

Such is a correct statement of the facts which some persons have perverted with the view of enhancing Napoleon's glory. With respect to those versions which differ from mine, I have only one comment to offer, which is, that I saw and heard what I describe.

The day after the capitulation of Paris, Marmont went in the evening to see the emperor at Fontainebleau.* He supped with

* THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

Art. 1. The corps of the marshals the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa (Mortier and Marmont) will evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven in the morning.

Art. 2. They will carry away with them arms and baggage, and the *matériel* of their army.

Art. 3. Hostilities are not to recommence until two hours after the evacuation of Paris, *i. e.* not till nine o'clock in the morning of the 3d of May.

Art. 4. All the arsenals, manufactories of arms, military edifices, and magazines will remain in the state they were found in immediately before this capitulation.

Art. 5. The national or urban militia is entirely separated from the troops of

him. Napoleon praised his defence of Paris. After supper the marshal rejoined his corps at Essonne, and, six hours after, the emperor arrived there to visit the lines. On leaving Paris, Marmont had left Colonels Fabvier and Denys to direct the execution of the capitulation. These officers joined the emperor and the marshal as they were proceeding up the banks of the river of Essonne. They did not disguise the effect which the entrance of the allies had produced in Paris. At this intelligence the emperor was deeply mortified, and he returned immediately to Fontainebleau, leaving the marshal at Essonne.

At daybreak on the 31st of March, Paris presented a novel and curious spectacle. No sooner had the French troops evacuated the capital, than the principal streets resounded with cries of "Down with Bonaparte!"—"No conscription!"—"No consolidated duties (*droits réunis*)!" With these cries were mingled that of "The Bourbons for ever!" but this latter cry was not repeated so frequently as the others: in general I remarked that the people gaped and listened with a sort of indifference. As I had taken a very active part in all that had happened during some preceding days, I was particularly curious to study what might be called the physiognomy of Paris. This was the second opportunity which had offered itself for such a study, and I now saw the people applaud the fall of the man whom they had received with enthusiasm after the 18th Brumaire. The reason was, that liberty was then hoped for, as it was hoped for in 1814. I went out early in the morning to see the numerous groups of people who had assembled in the streets. I saw women tearing their handkerchiefs, and distributing the fragments as the emblems of the revived lily. That same morning I met on the Boulevards, and some hours afterwards on the Place Louis XV., a party of gentlemen who paraded the streets of the capital proclaiming the restoration of the Bourbons and shouting, "Vive le Roi!" and "Vive Louis XVIII.!" At

the line. It will be maintained, disarmed, or dismissed as the allied sovereigns shall think necessary.

Art. 6. The corps of the municipal gendarmerie will share in all things the destiny of the national guards.

Art. 7. The wounded and marauders who are found in Paris seven hours after, will be made prisoners of war.

Art. 8. The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high allies.

Done at Paris the 31st of March, 1814, at two o'clock in the morning.

(Signed)

The Colonel Count Orloff,
Aide-de-camp of H. M. the Emperor of Russia.
The Colonel Count Paar,
Aide-de-camp general of H. E. the Field-marshal Prince of Schwartzenberg.
The Colonel Fabvier,
Attached to the staff of H. E. the Marshal Duke of Treviso.
The Colonel Denys,
First aide-de-camp of H. E. the Marshal Duke of Ragusa.

Editor.

J. Vernet.

BATAILLE DE MONTMIRAIL.

THE BATTLE OF MONTMIRAIL

their head I recognised MM. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, Count de Froissard, the Duke de Luxembourg, the Duke de Crussol, Seymour, &c. The cavalcade distributed white cockades in passing along, and was speedily joined by a numerous crowd who repaired to the Place Vendome. The scene that was acted there is well known, and the enthusiasm of popular joy could scarcely excuse the fury that was directed against the effigy of the man whose misfortunes, whether merited or not, should have protected him from such outrages.* These excesses served, perhaps, more than is generally supposed, to favour the plans of the leaders of the royalist party, to whom M. Nesselrode had declared, that before he would pledge himself to second their views, he must have proofs that they were seconded by the population of Paris.

I was afterwards informed by an eyewitness of what took place on the evening of the 31st of March in one of the principal meetings of the royalists, which was held in the hotel of the Count de Morfontaine, who acted as president on the occasion. Amidst a chaos of abortive propositions and contradictory motions, M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld proposed that a deputation should be immediately sent to the Emperor Alexander to express to him the wish of the meeting. This motion was immediately approved, and the mover was chosen to head the deputation. On leaving the hotel, the deputation met M. de Chateaubriand, who had that very day been, as it were, the precursor of the restoration, by publishing his admirable manifesto, entitled "Bonaparte and the Bourbons." He was invited to join the deputation: but nothing could overcome his diffidence and induce him to speak. On arriving at the hotel in the Rue Saint-Florentine, the deputation was introduced to Count Nesselrode, to whom M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld briefly explained its object; he spoke of the wishes of the meeting, and of the manifest desire of Paris and of France. He represented the restoration of the Bourbons as the only means of securing the peace of Europe; and observed, in conclusion, that as the exertions of the day must have been very fatiguing to the emperor, the deputation would not solicit the favour of being introduced to him; but would confidently rely on the good faith of his imperial majesty. "I have just left the emperor," replied M. Nesselrode, "and can pledge myself for his intentions. Return to the meeting, and announce to the French people, that in compliance with their wishes, his imperial majesty will use all his influence to restore the crown to the legitimate monarch: his Majesty, Louis XVIII., shall reascend the throne of France." With this gratifying intelligence, the deputation returned to the meeting in the Rue d'Anjou.

* Among other things the people dragged down from the triumphal column in the Place Vendome, the statue of Napoleon.—*Editor.*

There is no question that great enthusiasm was displayed on the entrance of the allies into Paris. It may be praised or blamed; but the fact cannot be denied. I closely watched all that was passing, and I observed the expression of a sentiment which I had long anticipated, when, after his alliance with the daughter of the Cæsars, the ambition of Bonaparte increased in proportion as it was gratified: I clearly foresaw Napoleon's fall. Whoever watched the course of events during the four last years of the empire, must have observed, as I did, that from the date of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa, the forms of the French government became daily more and more tyrannical and oppressive. The intolerable height which this evil had attained is evident from the circumstance, that at the end of 1813, the legislative body, throwing aside the mute character which it had hitherto maintained, presumed to give a lesson to him who had never before received a lesson from any one. On the 31st of March, it was recollected what had been the conduct of Bonaparte on the occasion alluded to, and those of the deputies who remained in Paris, related how the gendarmes had opposed their entrance into the hall of the assembly. All this contributed wonderfully to irritate the public mind against Napoleon. He had become master of France by the sword, and the sword being sheathed, his power was at an end; for no popular institution identified with the nation the new dynasty which he hoped to found. The nation admired, but did not love Napoleon; for it is impossible to love what is feared, and he had done nothing to claim the affections of France.

I was present at all the meetings and conferences which were held at M. de Talleyrand's hotel, where the Emperor Alexander had taken up his residence. Of all the persons present at these meetings, M. de Talleyrand was most disposed to retain Napoleon at the head of the government, with restrictions on the exercise of his power. In the existing state of things, it was only possible to choose one of three courses: first, to make peace with Napoleon, with the adoption of proper securities against him; second, to establish a regency; and third, to recal the Bourbons.

On the 13th of March, I witnessed the entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris; and after the procession had passed the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, I repaired straight to M. de Talleyrand's hotel, which I reached before the Emperor Alexander, who arrived at a quarter past one. When his imperial majesty entered M. de Talleyrand's drawing-room, most of the persons assembled, and particularly the Abbé de Pradt, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and General Dessolles, urgently demanded the restoration of the Bourbons. The emperor did not come to any immediate decision. Drawing me into the embrasure of a window, which looked to the street, he made some observations,

which enabled me to guess what would be his determination:—"M. de Bourrienne," said he, "you have been the friend of Napoleon, and so have I. I was his sincere friend; but there is no possibility of remaining at peace with a man of such bad faith. We must have done with him." These last words opened my eyes; and when the different propositions which were made came under discussion, I saw plainly that Bonaparte, in making himself emperor, had made up the bed for the Bourbons.

A discussion ensued on the three possible measures which I have above mentioned, and which were proposed by the Emperor Alexander himself. I thought, if I may so express myself, that his majesty was playing a part, when, pretending to doubt the possibility of recalling the Bourbons, which he wished above all things, he asked M. de Talleyrand what means he proposed to employ for the attainment of that object? Besides the French, there were present at this meeting, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzenberg, M. Nesselrode, M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, and Prince Lichtenstein. During the discussion, Alexander walked about with some appearance of agitation:—"Gentlemen," said he, addressing us in an elevated tone of voice, "you know that it was not I who commenced the war; you know that Napoleon came to attack me in my dominions. But we are not drawn here by the thirst of conquest, or the desire of revenge. You have seen the precautions I have taken to preserve your capital, the wonder of the arts, from the horrors of pillage, to which the chances of war would have consigned it.* Neither my allies nor myself are engaged in a war of reprisals; and I should be inconsolable if any violence were committed on your magnificent city. We are not waging war against France; but against Napoleon, and the enemies of French liberty. William, and you Prince (here the emperor turned towards the King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzenberg, who represented the Emperor of Austria), you can both bear testimony that the sentiments I express are yours." Both bowed assent to this observation of Alexander, which his majesty several times repeated in different words. He insisted that France should be perfectly free; and declared, that as soon as the wishes of the country were understood, he and his allies would support them, without seeking to favour any particular government.

The Abbé de Pradt then declared, in a tone of conviction, that we were all royalists, and that the sentiments of France

* One day the Emperor Alexander said, "History will record that Napoleon visited my capital, and that I have visited *his*." The contrast between the fate of Moscow, and that of Paris, was indeed striking, and calculated to flatter Alexander. In 1814, however, Paris was treated much too mildly, and this treatment was not attributed by the French to the mildness but to the *fears* of the allies.—*Editor.*

concurred with ours. The Emperor Alexander, adverting to the different governments which might be suitable to France, spoke of the maintenance of Bonaparte on the throne, the establishment of a regency, the choice of Bernadotte, and the recal of the Bourbons. M. de Talleyrand next spoke, and I well remember his saying to the Emperor of Russia, "Sire, only one of two things is possible. We must either have Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Bonaparte, if you can support him; but you cannot, for you are not alone. . . . . We will not have another soldier in his stead. If we want a soldier, we will keep the one we have; he is the first in the world. After him any other who may be proposed, would not have ten men to support him. I say again, Sire, either Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Any thing else is an intrigue." These remarkable words of the Prince de Benevento, produced on the mind of Alexander all the effect we could hope for. Thus, the question was simplified; that is to say, it became twofold instead of threefold; and, as it was evident that Alexander would have nothing to do with either Napoleon or his family, it was reduced to the single proposition of the restoration of the Bourbons. On being pressed by us all, with the exception of M. de Talleyrand, who still wished to leave the question undecided between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII., Alexander at length declared, that he would no longer treat with Napoleon. When it was represented to him that that declaration referred only to Napoleon personally, and did not extend to his family: he added, "Nor with any member of his family." Thus, as early as the 31st of March, the restoration of the Bourbons might be considered as decided. Of all the propositions which were then agitated, the most mischievous appeared to me that which would have for its object a regency. In that hypothesis, every thing would have been kept in suspense.

At the close of the meeting, the Emperor Alexander signed the following declaration:

If the conditions of peace required strong guarantees, when the object was to restrain the ambition of Bonaparte, they ought to be more favourable when, by a return to a wise government, France herself shall offer the assurance of repose. The sovereigns proclaim, that they will no longer treat with Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family. They respect the integrity of the French territory, as it existed under the legitimate monarchy: they may even go further, since they adopt the principle that France must be great and powerful. They will recognise and guarantee any constitution of which the French nation may make choice. They consequently invite the senate immediately to appoint a provisional government, to manage the business of the state, and to prepare the constitution which may be agreeable to the wishes of the people. The sentiments herein expressed are shared by all the allied powers.

I cannot omit mentioning the hurry with which Lahorie, whom

M. de Talleyrand appointed secretary to the provisional government, rushed out of the apartment as soon as he got possession of the Emperor Alexander's declaration. He got it printed with such expedition, that in the space of an hour it was posted on all the walls in Paris; and it certainly produced an extraordinary effect. As yet nothing warranted a doubt that Alexander would not abide by his word. The treaty of Paris could not be anticipated; and there was reason to believe that France, with a new government, would obtain more advantageous conditions, than if the allies had treated with Napoleon. But this illusion speedily vanished.

On the evening of the 31st of March, I returned to M. de Talleyrand's. I again saw the Emperor Alexander, who, stepping up to me, said, "M. de Bourrienne, you must take the superintendence of the post-office department." I could not decline this precise invitation on the part of the emperor; and besides, Lavalette having departed on the preceding day, the business would have been, for a time, suspended; a circumstance which would have been extremely prejudicial to the restoration which we wished to favour.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1814.

Composition of the provisional government—Mistake respecting the conduct of the Emperor of Austria—Caulaincourt's mission from Napoleon—His interview with the Emperor Alexander—Alexander's address to the deputation of the senate—M. de Caulaincourt ordered to quit the capital—Situation of Bonaparte during the events of the 30th and 31st of March—His arrival at Fontainebleau—Plan of attacking Paris—Arrival of troops at Fontainebleau—The Emperor's address to the guard—Forfeiture pronounced by the senate—Letters to Marmont—Correspondence between Marmont and Schwartzenberg—Macdonald informed of the occupation of Paris—Conversation between the emperor and Macdonald at Fontainebleau—Beurnonville's letter—Abdication on condition of a regency—Napoleon's wish to retract his act of abdication—Macdonald, Ney, and Caulaincourt sent to Paris—Marmont released from his promise by Prince Schwartzenberg.

The most important point to be obtained from the Emperor Alexander, was the declaration noticed in the preceding chapter. After that it was obvious that all the rest would naturally follow. A provisional government was established, of which M. de Talleyrand was appointed president. The other members were General Beurnonville, Count François de Jaucourt, the Duke Dalberg, who had married one of Maria Louisa's ladies of honour, and the Abbé de Montesquiou. The place of chancellor of the Legion of Honour was given to the Abbé de Pradt. Thus there were two abbés among the members of the provisional govern-

ment, and by a singular chance they happened to be the same who had officiated at the mass which was performed in the Champ de Mars on the day of the first federation.

Those who were dissatisfied with the events of the 31st of March, now saw no hope but in the possibility that the Emperor of Austria would separate from his allies, or at least not make common cause with them in favour of the re-establishment of the Bourbons. But that monarch had been brought up in the old policy of his family, and was imbued with the traditional principles of his cabinet. I know for a fact that the sentiments and intentions of the Emperor of Austria perfectly coincided with those of his allies. Anxious to ascertain the truth on this subject, I ventured, when in conversation with the Emperor Alexander, to hint at the reports I had heard relative to the cause of the Emperor of Austria's absence. I do not recollect the precise words of his majesty's answer, but it enabled me to infer with certainty that Francis II. was in no way averse to the overthrow of his son-in-law, and that his absence from the scene of the discussions was only occasioned by a feeling of delicacy natural enough in his situation.

Caulaincourt, who was sent by Napoleon to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, arrived there on the night of the 30th of March. He, however, did not obtain an interview with the emperor until after his majesty had received the municipal council of Paris, at the head of which was M. de Chabrol. At first Alexander appeared somewhat surprised to see the municipal council, which he did not receive exactly in the way that was expected; but this coldness was merely momentary, and he afterwards addressed the council in a very gracious way, though he dropped no hint of his ulterior objects.

Alexander, who entertained a personal regard for Caulaincourt, received him kindly in his own character, but not as the envoy of Napoleon:—"You have come too late," said the emperor. "It is all over. I can say nothing to you at present. Go to Paris, and I will see you there." These words perfectly enlightened Caulaincourt as to the result of his mission. His next interview with the Emperor Alexander at M. de Talleyrand's, did not take place until after the declaration noticed in my last chapter. The emperor had besides dropped observations which pretty clearly indicated his wishes. Even admitting that Alexander had no fixed determination relative to the restoration of the house of Bourbon, is it possible to deny his project of changing the dynasty of France?* On Caulaincourt's audience with

* At this period the language of Alexander was consistent and unvarying. To the deputation from the senate, who presented the list of the individuals composing the provisional government, he said, "A man calling himself my ally, came to my dominions as an unjust aggressor. I make war against him, and not against France. I am the friend of the French people, and what they have done increases my friendly sentiments. It is just, it is wise, to give to France powerful and liberal institutions in unison with the spirit of the age. My allies and I came only to protect your decisions."

the Emperor Alexander, he was not ignorant of the sentiments of the monarch, nor of the words he had uttered. The conversation they had together remained a secret, for neither Alexander nor the Duke of Vicenza mentioned it; but there was reason to infer from some words which fell from the Emperor Alexander, that he had received Caulaincourt rather as a private man* than as the ambassador of Napoleon, whose power, indeed, he could not recognise after his declaration. The provisional government was not entirely pleased with Caulaincourt's presence in Paris, and a representation was made to the Russian emperor on the subject. Alexander concurred in the opinion of the provisional government, which was expressed through the medium of the Abbé de Pradt. He therefore enjoined M. de Caulaincourt to quit Paris, declaring that the allies had no reply to make to the communications with which the Emperor Napoleon might have intrusted him. M. de Caulaincourt, therefore, returned to the emperor, who was then at Fontainebleau.

On the morning of the 30th of March, while the battle before the walls of Paris was at its height, Bonaparte was still at Troyes. He quitted that town at ten o'clock, accompanied only by Bertrand, Caulaincourt, two aides-de-camp and two orderly officers. He was not more than two hours in travelling the first ten leagues, and he and his feeble escort performed the journey without changing horses, and without even alighting. They arrived at Sens at one o'clock in the afternoon. Every thing was in such confusion, that it was impossible to prepare a suitable mode of conveyance for the emperor. He was therefore obliged to content himself with a wretched cariole, and in this equipage, about four in the morning, he reached Froidmanteau, about four leagues from Paris. It was there that the emperor

* The following account confirms the statements made by Bourrienne:

"The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia dined on the 31st, incognito, with M. de Talleyrand. The latter was some time before he took his decision; but he did it in the end in a most decided manner. The proclamation directing the formation of a provisional government was hardly sufficiently known at this juncture to judge of its effects. M. de Talleyrand was to be at the head of this government. M. Barthelemy, the Duc d'Alberg, and some others were to be members. M. de Caulaincourt was at Paris during the battle of the 30th. The following morning he came out, certainly in a most unaccountable manner, to the Emperor of Russia at Bondy, with the deputation from the municipality, who presented themselves to make arrangements for the occupation of the town. I was sorry that the emperor thought proper to receive M. de Caulaincourt. At the interview I learned that he declared he would sign the Châtillon project, or any other immediately. No answer was given to this offer. He then stated that he did not come in the character of minister of foreign affairs, but as one of the municipality of Paris. Prince Schwartzenberg afterwards saw him. It seemed that M. de Talleyrand, who was personally a friend of M. de Caulaincourt, had been endeavouring to keep him with the party of the new government, and to make him remain at Paris, as he was considered a man of considerable influence and interest, and amiable and well-meaning, in regard to promoting a peace."—*Lord Londonderry's Narrative of the War in Germany and France in* 1813 *and* 1814.

received from General Belliard, who arrived at the head of a column of artillery, the first intelligence of the battle of Paris. He heard the news with an air of composure, which was probably affected, to avoid discouraging those about him. He walked for about a quarter of an hour on the high-road, and it was after that promenade that he sent Caulaincourt to Paris. Napoleon afterwards went to the house of the postmaster, where he ordered his maps to be brought to him, and, according to custom, marked the different positions of the enemy's troops with pins, the heads of which were touched with wax of different colours. Napoleon next repaired to Fontainebleau, where he arrived at six in the morning. He did not order the great apartments of the castle to be opened, but went up to his favourite little apartment, where he shut himself up, and remained alone during the whole of the 31st of March.*

In the evening the emperor sent for the Duke de Ragusa, who had just arrived at Essonne with his troops. The duke reached Fontainebleau between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 1st of April. Napoleon then received a detailed account of the events of the 30th from Marmont, on whose gallant conduct before Paris he bestowed much praise.

All was gloom and melancholy at Fontainebleau, yet the emperor still retained his authority, and I have been informed that de deliberated for some time as to whether he should retire behind the Loire, or immediately hazard a bold stroke upon Paris, which would have been much more to his taste than to resign himself to the chances which an uncertain temporizing might bring about. This latter thought pleased him ; and he was seriously considering of his plan of attack when the news of the 31st, and the unsuccessful issue of Caulaincourt's mission, gave him to understand that his situation was more desperate than he had hitherto imagined.

Meanwhile, the heads of the columns, which the emperor had left at Troyes, arrived on the 1st of April at Fontainebleau. The troops having marched fifty leagues in less than three days, one of the most rapid marches ever performed. On the 2d of April, Napoleon communicated the events of Paris to the generals who were about him, recommending them to conceal the news lest it should dispirit the troops upon whom he yet relied. That day, during an inspection of the troops, which took place in the court of the palace, Bonaparte assembled the officers of his guard, and harangued them as follows:

Soldiers ! the enemy has stolen three marches upon us, and has made himself master of Paris. We must drive him thence. Frenchmen, unworthy of the name, emigrants whom we have pardoned, have mounted the white cockade, and joined the enemy. The wretches

* This little apartment is situated on the first story, parallel with what is called the gallery of Francis I., where Monaldeschi was murdered by order of Queen Christina of Sweden.

shall receive the reward due to this new crime. Let us swear to conquer or die, and to enforce respect to the tri-coloured cockade, which has for twenty years accompanied us on the path of glory and honour.

He also endeavoured to induce the generals to second his mad designs upon Paris, by making them believe that he had made sincere efforts to conclude peace. He assured them that he had expressed to the Emperor Alexander his willingness to purchase it by sacrifices; that he had consented to resign even the conquests made during the revolution, and to confine himself within the old limits of France. "Alexander," added Napoleon, "refused; and not content with that refusal he has leagued himself with a party of emigrants, whom, perhaps, I was wrong in pardoning for having borne arms against France. Through their perfidious insinuations, Alexander has permitted the white cockade to be mounted in the capital. We will maintain ours, and in a few days we will march upon Paris. I rely on you."

When the boundless attachment of the guards to the emperor is considered, it cannot appear surprising that these last words, uttered in an impressive tone, should have produced a feeling of enthusiasm, almost electrical, in all to whom they were addressed. The old companions of the glory of their chief exclaimed with one voice, "Paris! Paris!" But, fortunately, during the night, the generals having deliberated with each other, saw the frightful abyss into which they were about to precipitate France. They therefore resolved to intimate in moderate terms to the emperor, that they would not expose Paris to destruction; so that on the 3d of April, prudent ideas succeeded the inconsiderate enthusiasm of the preceding day.*

* Desperate efforts were making in the capital to effect a rising *en masse* of the populace in favour of Bonaparte. Had these efforts succeeded, Paris would have been bombarded, and possibly left as miserable a heap of ruins as Moscow had been two years before. But the burghers, artisans, and even the mere mob, were not disposed for such extremities.

"Paris was now quite tranquil; and notwithstanding several of Bonaparte's emissaries were in the city endeavouring to work on the people, with money and promises, to rise on the allies, no instance of disorder occurred.

"So much did M. de Caulaincourt at length despair of the possibility of Bonaparte's return, that he sounded M. de Talleyrand, the Duc d'Alberg, as to the intention of the allies with regard to his emperor's future lot, as he considered him a lost man. The senate met to deliberate and to pronounce their decision; but since the declaration of the Emperor Alexander, in the name of the allies, they had but one course to adopt, which was to declare Bonaparte *hors de la loi*.

"The national guards, who had been commanded by Marshal Moncey, were without a leader, he having fled. Count Montmorenci remained, and what part he would take was yet uncertain. The brother-in-law to the late General Moreau was mentioned as likely to be placed at the head of the national guards; but hitherto every arrangement was necessarily incomplete.

"A report now arrived, by a letter from Toulouse, of a great battle having been fought on the 23d ult. between Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult, in which the latter had been completely defeated, and driven into Toulouse, with only one piece of artillery left.

The wreck of the army assembled at Fontainebleau, which was the remnant of a million of troops, levied during fifteen months, consisted only of the corps of the Duke de Reggio, Ney, Macdonald, and General Gerard, which altogether did not amount to twenty-five thousand men, and which joined to the remaining seven thousand of the guard, did not leave the emperor a disposable force of more than thirty-two thousand men. Nothing but madness or despair could have suggested the thought of subduing, with such scanty resources, the foreign masses which occupied and surrounded Paris.

On the 2d of April, the senate published a senatus consultum, declaring that Napoleon had forfeited the throne, and abolishing the right of succession, which had been established in favour of his family. Furnished with this act, and without awaiting the concurrence of the legislative body, which was given next day, the provisional government published an address to the French armies. In this address the troops were informed that they were no longer the soldiers of Napoleon, and that the senate released them from their oaths. These documents were widely circulated at the time, and inserted in all the public journals.

The address of the senate was sent round to the marshals, and was of course first delivered to those who were nearest the capital; of this latter number was Marmont, whose allegiance to the emperor, as we have already seen, yielded only to the sacred interests of his country. Montessuis was directed by the provisional government to convey the address to Marmont, and to use such arguments as were calculated to strengthen those sentiments which had triumphed over his dearest personal affections. I gave Montessuis a letter to Marmont, in which I said—

The bearer will convey to you the rembrances of our friendship. He will, I trust, influence your resolution: a single word will suffice to induce you to sacrifice all for the happiness of your country. To

"The decision of the senate, who met on the 1st of April, declared, that as Napoleon Bonaparte had deserted the government of France, they felt themselves called upon to choose another chief; and that they were unanimous in calling to the throne their legitimate sovereign, Louis XVIII.

"The management of every new measure undoubtedly lay with the Emperor of Russia, and the confidential cabinet which he had formed. * * * * * In an incidental conversation I had with M. de Talleyrand at this period, he told me that steps were taking to communicate with all the French troops and fortresses. He believed strongly in a movement among the troops favourable to the new order of things. Marmont and Lefebvre were the marshals who it was thought would declare first. On the other hand it was said Bonaparte had an immense number of emissaries in Paris. M. Girardin, Marshal Berthier's aide-de-camp, was in the city with large sums of money at his disposal: some hundreds of the old guard had been introduced into Paris to head an insurrection, and Bonaparte was determined, at any risk, *de se faire jour dans Paris.*

"These various histories amused the alarmists of the day; but an excessive tranquillity and even indifference reigned around."—*Lord Londonderry's Narrative.* (*Editor.*)

secure that object, you, who are so good a Frenchman, and so loyal a knight, will not fear either dangers or obstacles. Your friends expect you, long for you, and I trust will soon embrace you.

Montessuis also took one from General Dessolles, whom the provisional government had appointed governor of the national guard in the room of Marshal Moncey, who had left Paris on the occupation of the allies. General Dessolles and I did not communicate to each other our correspondence; but when I afterwards saw the letter of Dessolles, I could not help remarking the coincidence of our appeal to Marmont's patriotism. Prince Schwartzenberg also wrote to Marmont, to induce him to espouse a cause which had now become the cause of France. To the prince's letter Marmont replied, that he was disposed to concur in the union of the army and the people, which would avert all chance of civil war, and stop the effusion of French blood; and that he was ready with his troops to quit the army of the Emperor Napoleon on the following conditions, the assurance of which he required in writing:

1st. I, Charles Prince Schwartzenberg, marshal and commander-in-chief of the allied armies, guarantee to all the French troops who, in consequence of the decree of the senate of the 2d of April, may quit the standard of Napoleon Bonaparte, that they shall retire freely into Normandy with arms, baggage, and ammunition, and with the same marks of respect and military honours which the allied troops reciprocally observe to each other.

2d. That if, by this movement, the chances of war should throw into the hands of the allied powers the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, his life and liberty shall be guaranteed in a space of territory and a circumscribed country, to be chosen by the allied powers and the French government.

Prince Schwartzenberg, in his answer to Marmont, expressing his satisfaction at the marshal's readiness to obey the call of the provisional government, said, "I beg of you to believe, that I am fully sensible of the article which you demand, and which I accept, relative to the person of Napoleon."

After the correspondence between Marmont and Prince Schwartzenberg, in which the latter acceded to all the conditions required by the former, Marmont was placed in circumstances which obliged him to request that he might be released from his promise.

I happened to learn the manner in which Marshal Macdonald was informed of the taking of Paris. He had been two days without any intelligence from the emperor, when he received an order in the handwriting of Berthier, couched in the following terms: "The emperor desires that you halt wherever you may receive this order." After Berthier's signature the following words were added as a postscript: "You, of course, know that

the enemy is in possession of Paris." When the emperor thus announced, with apparent negligence, an event which totally changed the face of affairs, I am convinced his object was to make the marshal believe that he looked upon that event as less important than it really was. However, this object was not attained; for I recollect having heard Macdonald say, that Berthier's singular postscript, and the tone of indifference in which it was expressed, filled him with mingled surprise and alarm. Marshal Macdonald then commanded the rear guard of the army which occupied the environs of Montreau. Six hours after the receipt of the order here referred to, Macdonald received a second order, directing him to put his troops in motion, and he learned the emperor's intention of marching on Paris with all his remaining force.

On receiving the emperor's second order, Macdonald left his corps at Montreau, and repaired in haste to Fontainebleau. When he arrived there, the emperor had already intimated to the generals, commanding divisions in the corps assembled at Fontainebleau, his design of marching on Paris. Alarmed at this determination, the generals, most of whom had left in the capital their wives, children, and friends, requested that Macdonald would go with them to wait upon Napoleon, and endeavour to dissuade him from his intention. "Gentlemen," said the marshal, "in the emperor's present situation, such a proceeding may displease him. It must be managed cautiously. Leave it to me, gentlemen, I will go to the castle."

Marshal Macdonald accordingly went to the palace of Fontainebleau, where the following conversation ensued between him and the emperor, and I beg the reader to bear in mind, that it was related to me by the marshal himself. As soon as he entered the apartment in which Napoleon was, the latter stepped up to him, and said, "Well, how are things going on?"—"Very badly, sire."—"How?.... badly!....What then are the feelings of your army?"—"My army, sire, is entirely discouraged.... appalled by the events of Paris."—"Will not your troops join me in an advance on Paris?"—"Sire, do not think of such a thing. If I were to give such an order to my troops, I should run the risk of being disobeyed."—"But what is to be done? I cannot remain as I am; I have yet resources and partisans. It is said that the allies will no longer treat with me. Well! no matter. I will march on Paris. I will be revenged on the inconstancy of the Parisians, and the baseness of the senate. Woe to the members of the government they have patched up for the return of their Bourbons; that is what they are looking forward to. But to-morrow I shall place myself at the head of my guards, and we will march on the Tuileries."

During all this vapouring, the marshal listened in silence; and when at length Napoleon became somewhat calm, the marshal observed, "Sire, it appears then that you are not

aware of what has taken place in Paris; of the establishment of a provisional government, and ....."—"I know it all: and what then?"—"Sire," added the marshal, presenting a paper to Napoleon, "here is something which will tell you more than I can." Macdonald then presented to him a letter from Marshal Beurnonville, announcing the forfeiture of the emperor, pronounced by the senate, and the determination of the allied powers not to treat with Napoleon, or any member of his family.—"Marshal," said the emperor, before he opened the letter, "may this be read aloud?"—"Certainly, sire." The letter was then handed to Barré, who read it. An individual, who was present on the occasion, described to me the impression which the reading of the letter produced on Napoleon. His countenance exhibited that violent contraction of the features which I have often remarked when his mind was disturbed. However, he did not lose his self-command, which indeed never forsook him when policy or vanity required that he should retain it; and when the reading of Beurnonville's letter was ended, he affected to persist in his intention of marching on Paris. "Sire," exclaimed Macdonald, "that plan must be renounced. Not a sword would be unsheathed to second you in such an enterprise."

After this conversation between the emperor and Macdonald, the question of the abdication began to be seriously thought of. Caulaincourt had already hinted to Napoleon, that in case of his abdicating personally, there was a possibility of inducing the allies to agree to a council of regency. Napoleon then determined to sign the act of abdication, which he himself drew up in the following terms:

> The allied powers having decided that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even to lay down his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the regency of the empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the empire. Given at our palace of Fontainebleau, April 2, 1814.
>
> NAPOLEON.

After having written this act, the emperor presented it to the marshals, saying, "Here, gentlemen! are you satisfied?"

This abdication of Napoleon was certainly very useless; but in case of any thing occurring to render it a matter of importance, the act might have proved entirely illusory. Its meaning might appear unequivocal to the generality of people, but not to me, who was so well initiated in the cunning to which Napoleon could resort when it suited his purpose. It is necessary to observe, that Napoleon does not say that "he descends from the throne," but that "he is *ready* to descend from the

throne." This was a subterfuge, by the aid of which he intended to open new negotiations respecting the form and conditions of the regency of his son, in case of the allied sovereigns acceding to that proposition. This would have afforded the means of gaining time.

He had not yet resigned all hope, and therefore he joyfully received a piece of intelligence communicated to him by General Allix. The general informed the emperor that he had met an Austrian officer, who was sent by Francis II. to Prince Schwartzenberg, and who positively assured him that all which had taken place in Paris was contrary to the wish of the Emperor of Austria. That this may have been the opinion of the officer is possible, and even probable. But it is certain from the issue of a mission of the Duke de Cadore, of which I shall presently speak, that the officer expressed merely his own personal opinion. However, as soon as General Allix had communicated this good news, as he termed it, to Napoleon, the latter exclaimed to the persons who were about him, "I told you so, gentlemen. Francis II. cannot carry his enmity so far as to dethrone his daughter. Vicenza, go and desire the marshals to return my act of abdication. I will send a courier to the Emperor of Austria.

Thus Bonaparte, in his shipwreck, looked round for a saving plank, and tried to nurse himself in illusions. The Duke de Vicenza went to Marshals Ney and Macdonald, whom he found just stepping into a carriage to proceed to Paris. Both positively refused to return the act to Caulaincourt, saying, "We are sure of the concurrence of the Emperor of Austria, and we take every thing upon ourselves." The result proved that they were better informed than General Allix.

During the conversation with Marshal Macdonald, which has just been described, the emperor was seated. When he came to the resolution of signing the abdication, he rose, and walked once or twice up and down his cabinet. After he had written and signed the act, he said, "Gentlemen, the interests of my son, the interests of the army, and above all, the interests of France, must be defended. I therefore appoint as my commissioners to the allied powers, the Duke de Vicenza, the Prince of the Moskowa, and the Duke de Ragusa. . . Are you satisfied?" added he, after a pause. "I think these interests are consigned to good hands." All present answered, as with one voice, "Yes, sire." But no sooner was this answer pronounced, than the emperor threw himself upon a small yellow sofa, which stood near the window, and striking his thigh with his hand, with a sort of convulsive motion, he exclaimed, "No, gentlemen: I will have no regency! With my guards, and Marmont's corps, I shall be in Paris to-morrow." Ney and Macdonald vainly endeavoured to undeceive him respecting this impracticable design. He rose with marked ill-humour, and rubbing his head, as he

NEY.

From an engraving by J. Kennerly.

Place and date of publication unknown.

was in the habit of doing when agitated, he said, in a loud and authoritative tone, "Retire."

The marshals withdrew, and Napoleon was left alone with Caulaincourt. He told the latter that what had most displeased him in the proceedings which had just taken place, was the reading of Beurnonville's letter. "Sire," observed the Duke de Vicenza, "it was by your order that the letter was read."—"That is true. . . . But why was it not addressed directly to me by Macdonald?"—"Sire, the letter was at first addressed to Marshal Macdonald; but the aide-de-camp who was the bearer of it had orders to communicate its contents to Marmont, on passing through Essonne, because Beurnonville did not precisely know where Macdonald would be found." After this brief explanation, the emperor appeared satisfied, and he said to Caulaincourt, "Vicenza, call back Macdonald."

The Duke de Vicenza hastened after the marshal, whom he found at the end of the gallery of the palace, and he brought him back to the emperor. When Macdonald returned to the cabinet, the emperor's warmth had entirely subsided, and he said to him with great composure, "Well, Duke de Taranto, do you think that the regency is the only possible thing?"—"Yes, sire."—"Then I wish you to go with Ney to the Emperor Alexander, instead of Marmont; it is better that he should remain with his corps, to which his presence is indispensable. You will therefore go with Ney. I rely on you. I hope you have entirely forgotten all that has separated us for so long a time."—"Yes, sire, I have not thought of it since 1809."—"I am glad of it, Marshal, and I must acknowledge to you that I was in the wrong." While speaking to the marshal, the emperor manifested unusual emotion. He approached him, and pressed his hand in the most affectionate way.

The emperor's three commissioners, that is to say, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza, informed Marmont that they would dine with him as they passed through Essonne, and would acquaint him with all that had happened at Fontainebleau. On their arrival at Essonne, the three imperial commissioners explained to the Duke de Ragusa the object of their mission, and persuaded him to accompany them to the Emperor Alexander. This obliged the marshal to inform them how he was situated. The negotiations which Marmont had opened, and almost concluded, with Prince Schwartzenberg, were rendered null by the mission which he had joined, and which it was necessary he should himself explain to the commander of the Austrian army. The three marshals and the Duke de Vicenza repaired to Petitbourg, the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzenberg, and there the prince released Marmont from the promise he had given.

CHAPTER XXX.

1814.

Unexpected receipts in the post-office department—Arrival of Napoleon's commissioners at M. de Talleyrand's—Conference of the marshals with Alexander —Alarming news from Essonne—Marmont's courage—The white cockade and the tri-coloured cockade—A successful stratagem—Three governments in France—The Duke de Cadore sent by Maria Louisa to the Emperor of Austria—Maria Louisa's proclamation to the French people—Interview between the Emperor of Austria aud the Duke de Cadore—The emperor's protestation of friendship for Napoleon—M. Metternich and M. Stadion—Maria Louisa's departure for Orleans—Blucher's visit to me—Audience of the King of Prussia—His majesty's reception of Berthier, Clarke, and myself—Bernadotte in Paris—Cross of the Polar Star presented to me by Bernadotte.

After my nomination as director-general of the post-office, the business of that department proceeded as regularly as before. Having learned that a great many intercepted letters had been thrown aside, I sent, on the 4th of April, an advertisement to the Moniteur, stating, that the letters to and from England and other foreign countries, which had been lying at the post-office for more than three years, would be forwarded to their respective addresses. This produced to the post-office a receipt of nearly three hundred thousand francs; a fact which may afford an idea of the enormous number of intercepted letters.

On the night after the publication of the advertisement, I was awakened by an express from the provisional government, by which I was requested to proceed with all possible haste to M. de Talleyrand's hotel. I rose, and I set off immediately, and I got there some minutes before the arrival of the emperor's commissioners. I went up to the saloon on the first floor, which was one of the suite of apartments occupied by the Emperor Alexander. The marshals retired to confer with the monarch; and it would be difficult to describe the anxiety, or I may rather say, consternation which, during their absence, prevailed among some of the members of the provisional government, and other persons assembled in the saloon where I was.

While the marshals were with Alexander, I learned that they had previously conversed with M. de Talleyrand, who observed

to them, "If you succeed in your designs, you will commit all who have met in this hotel since the 1st of April, and the number is not small. For my part, take no account of me, I am willing to be committed." I had passed the evening of this day with M. de Talleyrand, who then observed to the Emperor Alexander in my presence, "Will you support Bonaparte? No, you neither can nor will. I have already had the honour to tell your majesty that we can have no choice but between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII.; any thing else would be an intrigue, and no intrigue can have power to support him who may be its object. Bernadotte, Eugène, the Regency, all those propositions result from intrigues. In present circumstances, nothing but a new principle is sufficiently strong to establish the new order of things which must be adopted. *Louis XVIII. is a principle.*"

None of the members of the provisional government were present at this conference, for no one was willing to appear to influence in any way the determination of the chief of the coalition, upon the subject of this important mission. General Dessolles alone, in quality of commander of the national guard of Paris, was requested to be present. At length the marshals entered the saloon where we were, and their appearance created a sensation which it is impossible to describe; but the expression of dissatisfaction which we thought we remarked in their countenances, restored the hopes of those who for some hours had been a prey to apprehensions. Macdonald, with his head elevated, and evidently under the influence of strong irritation, approached Beurnonville, and thus addressed him, in answer to a question which the latter had put to him:—"Speak not to me, sir, I have nothing to say to you. You have made me forget a friendship of thirty years!" Then turning to Dupont, "As for you, sir," he continued, in the same tone, "your conduct towards the emperor is not generous. I confess that he has treated you with severity, perhaps he may even have been unjust to you with respect to the affair of Baylen; but how long has it been the practice to avenge a personal wrong at the expense of one's country?"*

These remarks were made with such warmth, and in so elevated a tone of voice, that Caulaincourt thought it necessary to interfere, and said, "Do not forget, gentlemen, that this is the residence of the Emperor of Russia." At this moment M. de Talleyrand returned from the interview with the emperor, which he had had after the departure of the marshals, and approaching the group formed round Macdonald, "Gentlemen," said he, "if you wish to dispute and discuss, step down to my apartments." —"That would be useless," replied Macdonald, "my comrades

* The reader must remember that General Dupont, beaten by the Spaniards, surrendered, with 20,000 men, at Baylen, in Andalusia. This happened on the 18th of July, 1808.—*Editor.*

and I do not acknowledge the provisional government." The three marshals, Ney, Macdonald, and Marmont, then immediately retired with Caulaincourt, and went to Ney's hotel, there to await the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to give them after consulting the King of Prussia.

Such was this night-scene, which possessed more dramatic effect than many which are performed on the stage. In it all was real: on its denouement depended the political state of France, and the existence of all those who had already declared themselves in favour of the Bourbons. It is a remarkable fact, and one which affords a striking lesson to men who are tempted to sacrifice themselves for any political cause, that most of those who then demanded the restoration of the Bourbons at the peril of their lives, have successively fallen into a sort of disgrace.

When the marshals and Caulaincourt had retired, we were all anxious to know what had passed between them and the Emperor of Russia. I learned from Dessolles, who, as I have stated, was present at the conference, in his rank of commander of the national guard of Paris, that the marshals were unanimous in urging Alexander to accede to a regency. Macdonald especially supported that proposition with much warmth; and among the observations he made, I recollect Dessolles mentioning the following: "I am not authorized to treat in any way for the fate reserved for the emperor. We have full powers to treat for the regency, the army, and France; but the emperor has positively forbidden us to specify any thing personally regarding himself." Alexander merely replied, "That does not astonish me." The marshals then resuming the conversation, dwelt much on the respect which was due to the military glory of France. They strongly manifested their disinclination to abandon the family of a man who had so often led them to victory; and, lastly, they reminded the Emperor Alexander of his own declaration, in which he proclaimed in his own name, as well as on the part of his allies, that it was not their intention to impose on France any government whatever.

Dessolles, who had all along declared himself in favour of the Bourbons, in his turn entered into the discussion with as much warmth as the partisans of the regency. He represented to Alexander how many persons would be committed, for merely having acted, or declared their opinions, behind the shield of his promises. He repeated what Alexander had already been told, that the regency would, in fact, be nothing but Bonaparte in disguise. However, Dessolles acknowledged that such was the effect of Marshal Macdonald's powerful and persuasive eloquence, that Alexander seemed to waver, and unwilling to give the marshals a positive refusal, he had recourse to a subterfuge, by which he would be enabled to execute the design he had irrevocably formed, without seeming to take on himself alone the responsibility of a change of government. Dessolles

accordingly informed us, that Alexander at last gave the following answer to the marshals: "Gentlemen, I am not alone; in an affair of such importance, I must consult the King of Prussia, for I have promised to do nothing without consulting him. In a few hours you shall know my decision." It was this decision which the marshals went to wait for at Ney's.

Most of the members of the provisional government attributed the evasive reply of the Emperor Alexander to the influence of the speech of Dessolles. For my part, while I do justice to the manner in which he declared himself on this important occasion, I do not ascribe to his eloquence the power of fixing Alexander's resolution; for I well know by experience how easy it is to make princes appear to adopt the advice of any one, when the counsel given is precisely that which they wish to follow. From the sentiments of Alexander at this time I had not the slightest doubt as to the course he would finally pursue, and I considered what he said about consulting the King of Prussia to be a mere phrase of politeness, by which he avoided the disagreeable task of giving the marshals a direct refusal.

I therefore returned home, quite satisfied as to the result of the Emperor Alexander's visit to the King of Prussia. I knew, from the persons about the emperor, that he cherished a hatred, which was but too well justified, towards Bonaparte. Frederick William is of too firm a character to have yielded to any of the considerations which might on this subject have been pressed on him, as they had been on the Emperor of Russia. But, besides that the King of Prussia had legitimate reasons for disliking Napoleon, policy would at that time have required that he should appear to be his enemy; for to do so was to render himself popular with his subjects, who were then all imbued with the principles of liberty, and even with some ideas of Carbonarism, which had been propagated and diffused by Baron Stein and his disciples.* But the King of Prussia did not need to act under the dictates of policy; he followed his own opinion in rejecting the propositions of the marshals, which he did without hesitation, and with much energy.

While the marshals had gone to Paris, Bonaparte was anxious to ascertain whether his commissioners had passed the advanced posts of the foreign armies; and in case of resistance, he determined to march on Paris, for he could not believe that he had lost every chance. He sent an aide-de-camp to desire Marmont to come immediately to Fontainebleau: such was Napoleon's impatience, that instead of waiting for the return of his aide-de-camp, he sent off a second, and then a third officer, on the same errand. This rapid succession of envoys from the emperor

* Baron Stein has also noticed this accusation, in a way which intimates that he treats it very lightly. He begs of M. Bourrienne not to correct either it or the charge respecting La Sahla, vol. iii., p. 211, when he publishes his third edition.—*Editor.*

alarmed the generals who commanded the different divisions of Marmont's corps at Essonne. They feared that the emperor was aware of the convention concluded that morning with Prince Schwartzenberg; and that he had sent for Marmont with the view of reprimanding him. The fact was, Napoleon knew nothing of the matter; for Marmont, on departing for Paris, with Macdonald and Ney, had left orders that it should be said he had gone to inspect his lines. Souham, Lebrun, Des Essarts, and Bordesaille, who had given their assent to the convention with Prince Schwartzenberg, deliberated in the absence of Marmont, and perhaps being ignorant that he was released from his promise, and fearing the vengeance of Napoleon, they determined to march upon Versailles. On arriving there, the troops not finding the marshal at their head, thought themselves betrayed, and a spirit of insurrection broke out among them. One of Marmont's aides-de-camp, whom he had left at Essonne, exerted every endeavour to prevent the departure of his general's corps; but finding all his efforts unavailing, he hastened to Paris to inform the marshal of what had happened. When Marmont received this news, he was breakfasting at Ney's, with Macdonald and Caulaincourt: they were waiting for the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to send them. The march of his corps on Versailles threw Marmont into despair. He said to the marshals, "I must be off to join my corps, and quell this mutiny;" and without losing a moment, he ordered his carriage, and directed the coachman to drive with the utmost speed. He sent forward one of his aides-de-camp to inform the troops of his approach. Having arrived within a hundred paces of the place where his troops were assembled, he found the generals, who were under his orders, advancing to meet him. They urged him not to go further, as the men were in open insurrection. "I will go into the midst of them," said Marmont. "In a moment they shall either kill me, or acknowledge me as their chief." He sent off another aide-de-camp to range the troops in the order of battle. Then alighting from the carriage, and mounting a horse, he advanced alone, and thus harangued his troops: "How! Is there treason here? Is it possible that you disown me? Am I not your comrade? Have I not been wounded twenty times among you? . . . . Have I not shared your fatigues and privations? And am I not ready to do so again?" . . . . . Here Marmont was interrupted by a general shout of "Vive le maréchal! Vive le maréchal!"

The alarm caused among the members of the provisional government, by the mission of the marshals, was increased by the news of the mutiny of Marmont's troops. During the whole of the day we were in a state of tormenting anxiety. It was feared that the insurrectionary spirit might spread among other corps of the army, and the cause of France again be endangered. But

the courage of Marmont saved every thing. It would be impossible to convey any idea of the manner in which he was received by us at Talleyrand's, when he related the particulars of what had occurred at Versailles.*

On the evening of the day on which Marmont had acted so nobly, it was proposed that the army should adopt the white cockade. In reply to this proposition, the marshal said, "Gentlemen, I have made my troops understand the necessity of serving France before all things. They have, consequently, returned to order, and I can now answer for them. But what I cannot answer for is, to induce them to abandon the colours which have led them to victory for the last twenty years. Therefore do not count upon me for a thing which I consider to be totally hostile to the interests of France. I will speak to the Emperor Alexander on the subject." Such were Marmont's words. Every one appeared to concur in his opinion, and the discussion terminated. For my own part, I find by my notes, that I declared myself strongly in favour of Marmont's proposition.

The marshal's opinion having been adopted, at least provisionally, an article was prepared for the Moniteur, in nearly the following terms:

The white cockade has been, during the last four days, a badge for the manifestation of public opinion in favour of the overthrow of an oppressive government: it has been the only means of distinguishing the partisans of the restoration of the old dynasty, to which, at length, we are to be indebted for repose. But as the late government is at an end, all colours differing from our national colours are useless: let us, therefore, resume those which have so often led us to victory.

Such was the spirit of the article, though possibly the above copy may differ in a few words. It met with the unqualified approbation of every one present. I was therefore extremely surprised, on looking at the Moniteur next day, to find that the article was not inserted. I knew not what courtly interference prevented the appearance of the article; but I remember that Marmont was very ill pleased at its omission. He complained on the subject to the Emperor Alexander, who promised to write, and in fact did write to the provisional government to get the article inserted. However, it did not appear, and in a few days we obtained a solution of the enigma, as we might, perhaps, have done before if we had tried. The Emperor Alexander also promised to write to the Count d'Artois, and to inform him that the opinion of France was in favour of the preservation of the three colours; but I do not know whether the letter was written, or if it was, what answer it received.

* Marshal Marmont's corps d'armée passed over to the allies on the 4th of April. Marmont was thus the first of the French generals to place himself under Louis XVIII.—*Editor.*

Marshal Jourdan, who was then at Rouen, received a letter, written without the knowledge of Marmont, informing him that the latter had mounted the white cockade in his corps. Jourdan thought he could not do otherwise than follow Marmont's example, and he announced to the provisional government, that in consequence of the resolution of the Duke of Ragusa, he had just ordered his corps to wear the white cockade. Marmont could now be boldly faced, and when he complained to the provisional government of the non-insertion of the article in the Moniteur, the reply was, "It cannot now appear. You see Marshal Jourdan has mounted the white cockade: you would not give the army two sets of colours!"

Marmont could make no answer to so positive a fact. It was not till some time after that I learned Jourdan had determined to unfurl the white only, on the positive assurance that Marmont had already done so. Thus we lost the colours which had been worn by Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., and under the auspices of which the Count d'Artois showed himself on his return to the Parisians, for he entered the capital in the uniform of the national guard. The fraud played off by some members of the provisional government was attended by fatal consequences; many evils might have been spared to France had Marmont's opinion been adopted.

At the period of the dissolution of the empire, there might be said to be three governments in France, viz., the provisional government in Paris, Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and the doubtful and ambulatory regency of Maria Louisa.* Doubtful and ambulatory the regency might well be called; for there was so little decision as to the course to be adopted by the empress, that it was at first proposed to conduct her to Orleans, then to Tours, and she went finally to Blois. The uncertainty which prevailed respecting the destiny of Maria Louisa is proved by a document which I have in my possession, and of which there cannot be many copies in existence. It is a circular addressed to the prefects by M. de Montalivet, the minister of the interior, who accompanied the empress. In it a blank is left for the seat of the government, to which the prefects are desired to send their communications. In the copy I possess, the blank is filled up with the word Blois in manuscript.

As soon as Maria Louisa was made acquainted with the events of Paris, she sent for the Duke de Cadore, and gave him a letter addressed to the Emperor of Austria, saying, "Take this to my father, who must be at Dijon. I rely on you for defending the interests of France, those of the emperor, and, above all, those of my son." Certainly, Maria Louisa's confidence could not be better placed, and those great interests would have been defended

* For some curious accounts of the proceedings of this regency, we refer the reader to the notes at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

by the Duke de Cadore, *si defendi possent.* But nothing could alter the decrees of fate.

After the departure of the Duke de Cadore, Maria Louisa published the following proclamation, addressed to the French people :

The events of the war have placed the capital in the power of foreigners. The emperor has marched to defend it at the head of his armies, so often victorious. They are face to face with the enemy before the walls of Paris. From the residence which I have chosen, and from the ministers of the emperor, will emanate the only orders which you can acknowledge. Every town in the power of foreigners ceases to be free, and every order which may proceed from them is the language of the enemy, or that which it suits his hostile views to propagate. You will be faithful to your oaths. You will listen to the voice of a princess who *was* consigned to your good faith, and whose highest pride consists in being a French woman, and in being united to the destiny of the sovereign whom you have freely chosen. My son was less sure of your affections in the time of our prosperity ; his rights and his person are under your safeguard.

MARIA LOUISA.

Blois, April 3, 1814.

It is to be inferred that the regency had, within three days, adopted the resolution of not quitting Blois ; for the above document presents no blanks, nor words filled up in writing. The empress's proclamation, though a powerful appeal to the feelings of the French people, produced no effect. It was countersigned by Montalivet. I must show why, in the copy of the proclamation which I have subjoined, there is a word distinguished by italics. I was credibly informed, that when the document was printed, and presented to the empress, she drew her pen through the word *was,* and made the sentence read as follows : " You will listen to the voice of a princess who *has consigned herself* to your good faith," &c. The unfortunate princess did all she could to rally to her cause, and, above all, to the cause of her son, those whose resolutions were still wavering ; and the truth is, that personally, Maria Louisa inspired real interest, even in those who, from policy or regard for France, were most actively labouring to overthrow the imperial despotism. Maria Louisa's proclamation was dated the 4th of April, on the evening of which day Napoleon signed the conditional abdication, with the fate of which the reader has already been made acquainted. M. de Montalivet transmitted the empress's proclamation, accompanied by another circular, to the prefects, of whom very few received it.

M. de Champagny having left Blois with the letter he had received from the empress, proceeded to the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, carefully avoiding those roads which were occupied by Cossack troops. He arrived, not without consider-

able difficulty, at Chanseaux, where Francis II. was expected. When the emperor arrived, the Duke de Cadore was announced, and immediately introduced to his majesty. The duke remained some hours with Francis II., without being able to obtain from him any thing but fair protestations. The emperor always took refuge behind the promise he had given to his allies to approve whatever measures they might adopt. The duke was not to leave the emperor's head-quarters that evening; and, in the hope that his majesty might yet reflect on the critical situation of his daughter, he asked permission to take leave next morning. He accordingly presented himself to the emperor's levee, when he renewed his efforts in support of the claims of Maria Louisa: "I have a great affection for my daughter, and also for my son-in-law," said the emperor. "I bear them both in my heart, and would shed my blood for them."—"Ah! sire," exclaimed M. de Champagny, "such a sacrifice is not necessary."—"Yes, duke, I say again I would shed my blood, I would resign my life for them; but I have given my allies a promise not to treat without them, and to approve all that they may do. Besides," added the emperor, "my minister, M. Metternich, has gone to their head-quarters, and I will ratify whatever he may sign."

When the Duke de Cadore related to me the particulars of his mission, in which zeal could not work an impossibility, I remarked that he regarded, as a circumstance fatal to Napoleon, the absence of M. Metternich, and the presence of M. Stadion, at the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria. Though, in all probability, nothing could have arrested the course of events, yet it is certain that the personal sentiments of the two Austrian ministers towards Napoleon were widely different. I am not going too far when I affirm that, policy apart, M. Metternich was much attached to Napoleon.* In support of this assertion, I may quote a fact of which I can guarantee the authenticity. When M. Metternich was complimented on the occasion of Maria Louisa's marriage, he replied, "To have contributed to a measure, which has received the approbation of eighty millions of men, is indeed a just subject of congratulation." Such a remark openly made by the intelligent minister of the cabinet of Vienna, was well calculated to gratify the ears of Napoleon, from whom, however, M. Metternich, in his personal relations, did not conceal the truth. I recollect a reply which was made by M. Metternich at Dresden, after a little hesitation: "As to you," said the emperor, "you will not go to war with me. It is impossible that you can declare yourselves against me. That can never be."—"Sire, we are not now quite allies, and sometime hence we may become enemies." This hint was the last which Napoleon received from Metternich, and Napoleon must

* We very much doubt this attachment. The preceding year, at the congress of Prague, Bonaparte had very grossly insulted Metternich. See appendix to this volume.—*Editor.*

have been blind indeed not to have profited by it. As to M. Stadion, he entertained a profound dislike of the emperor. That minister knew, and could not forget, that his preceding exclusion from the cabinet of Vienna had been due to the all-powerful influence of Napoleon.

Whether or not the absence of M. Metternich influenced the resolution of Francis II., it is certain that that monarch yielded nothing to the urgent solicitations of a minister who conscientiously fulfilled the delicate mission consigned to him. M. de Champagny rejoined the empress at Orleans, whither she had repaired on leaving Blois. He found Maria Louisa almost deserted: all the grand dignitaries of the empire having successively returned to Paris, after sending in their submissions to the provisional government.

I had scarcely entered upon the exercise of my functions as postmaster-general, when, on the morning of the 2d of April, I was surprised to see a Prussian general-officer enter my cabinet. I immediately recognised him to be General Blucher. He had commanded the Prussian army in the battle which took place at the gates of Paris. "Sir," said he, "I consider it one of my first duties, on entering Paris, to thank you for the attention I received from you in Hamburg. I am sorry that I was not sooner aware of your being in Paris. I assure you, that had I been sooner informed of this circumstance, the capitulation should have been made without a blow being struck. How much blood might then have been spared!"—"General," said I, "on what do you ground this assurance?"—"If I had known that you were in Paris, I would have given you a letter to the King of Prussia. That monarch, who knows the resources and intentions of the allies, would, I am sure, have authorized you to decide a suspension of arms before the neighbourhood of Paris became the theatre of the war."—"But," resumed I, "in spite of the good intentions of the allies, it would have been very difficult to prevent resistance. French pride, irritated as it was by reverses, would have opposed insurmountable obstacles to such a measure."—"But, good heavens! you would have seen that resistance could be of no avail against such immense masses."—"You are right, general; but French honour would have been defended to the last."—"I am fully aware of that; but surely you have earned glory enough!"—"Yet our French susceptibility would have made us look upon that glory as tarnished, if Paris had been occupied without defence..... But, under present circumstances, I am well pleased that you were satisfied with my conduct in Hamburg; for it induces me to hope, that you will observe the same moderation in Paris that I exercised there. The days are past when it could be said, Woe to the conquered."—"You are right; yet," added he, smiling, "you know we are called the northern barbarians."—"Then,

general," returned I, " you have a fair opportunity of showing that that designation is a libel."

Some days after Blucher's visit, I had the honour of being admitted to a private audience of the King of Prussia. Clarke and Berthier were also received in this audience, which took place at the Hotel d'Eugène, where the King of Prussia resided in Paris. We waited for some minutes in the saloon, and when Frederick William entered from his cabinet, I remarked on his countenance an air of embarrassment and austerity, which convinced me that he had been studying his part, as great personages are in the habit of doing on similar occasions. The king, on entering the saloon, first noticed Berthier, whom he addressed with much kindness, bestowing praises on the French troops, and complimenting the marshal on his conduct during the war in Germany. Berthier returned thanks for these well-merited praises; for though he was not remarkable for strength of understanding, or energy of mind, yet he was not a bad man, and I have known many proofs of his good conduct in conquered countries.

After saluting Berthier, the King of Prussia turned towards Clarke, and his countenance immediately assumed an expression of dissatisfaction. He had evidently not forgotten Clarke's conduct in Berlin. He reminded him that he had rendered the continental system more odious than it was in itself, and that he had shown no moderation in the execution of his orders. " In fine," said his majesty, " if I have any advice to give you, it is that you never again return to Prussia." The king pronounced these words in so loud and decided a tone, that Clarke was perfectly confounded. He uttered some unintelligible observations, which, however, Frederick William did not notice; for suddenly turning towards me, he said, with an air of affability, " Ah! M. Bourrienne, I am glad to see you, and I take this opportunity of repeating what I wrote to you from Koningsberg. You always extended protection to the Germans, and did all you could to alleviate their condition. I learned, with great satisfaction, what you did for the Prussians, whom the fate of war drove into Hamburg; and I feel pleasure in telling you, in the presence of these gentlemen, that if all the French agents had acted as you did, we should not, probably, be here." I expressed by a profound bow how much I was gratified by this complimentary address, and the monarch, after saluting us, retired.

About the middle of April, Bernadotte arrived in Paris. His situation had become equivocal, since circumstances had banished the hopes he might have conceived in his interview with the Emperor Alexander, at Abo. Besides, he had been represented in some official pamphlets as a traitor to France, and among certain worshippers of our insulated glory, there prevailed a

feeling of irritation, which the inconstancy of fortune might, perhaps, excuse, and which was unjustly directed towards Bernadotte.

While Bernadotte was in Paris I saw him every day. He but faintly disguised from me the hope he had entertained of ruling France; and in the numerous conversations to which our respective occupations led, I ascertained, though Bernadotte did not formally tell me so, that he once had strong expectations of succeeding Napoleon.

I asked Bernadotte what he thought of the projects which were attributed to Moreau; whether it was true that he had in him a competitor; and whether Moreau had aspired to the dangerous honour of governing France. "Those reports," replied the Prince Royal of Sweden, "are devoid of foundation: at least I can assure you, that in the conversations I have had with the Emperor Alexander, that sovereign never said any thing which could warrant such a supposition. I know that the Emperor of Russia wished to avail himself of the military talents of Moreau in the great struggle that had commenced, and to enable the exiled general to return to his country, in the hope that should the war prove fortunate, he would enjoy the honours and privileges due to his past services."

Bernadotte expressed to me astonishment at the recal of the Bourbons; and assured me that he had not expected the French people would so readily have consented to the restoration. I confess I was surprised that Bernadotte, with the intelligence I knew him to possess, should imagine that the will of subjects has any influence in changes of government.

During his stay in Paris, Bernadotte evinced for me the same sentiments of friendship which he had shown me at Hamburg. One day I received from him a letter, dated Paris, with which he transmitted to me one of the crosses of the Polar Star, which the King of Sweden had left at his disposal. Bernadotte was not very well satisfied with his residence in Paris, in spite of the friendship which the Emperor Alexander constantly manifested towards him. After a few days he set out for Sweden, having first taken leave of the Count d'Artois. I did not see him after his farewell visit to the count, so that I know not what was the nature of the conversation which passed between the two princes.

THE EMPRESS MARIA LOUISA AND THE REGENCY AT BLOIS.

Two very curious works that bear every mark of authenticity, and are entitled "*L'Histoire de la Régence à Blois,*" and "*Itinéraire de Bonaparte, pour servir de suite à la Régence de Blois,*" were published in Paris in 1814, a very few months after the events they commemorate.

The writers of these volumes lift up the veil of mystery that hung over many of the hurried transactions of March and April, and make it evident that Napoleon once thought of carrying on a civil as well as foreign war behind the Loire. The reader has seen in the text of Bourrienne how Maria Louisa and her son left Paris, and in what a hurried manner Joseph Bonaparte took his departure from that capital after instructing Marmont and Mortier to capitulate with the allies. Somewhere outside of Paris Joseph was joined by his youngest brother Jerome, and they went on together without being recognised as far as Sévres, about five miles from the capital. Here, however, the assembled population, who were in a very alarming state, recognised the ex-king of Spain, and began to talk of arresting him. Joseph escaped by assuring them roundly that Paris was saved, the allies beaten, Napoleon safe at the Tuileries, and that he *was going to bring back the empress!*

Having thus evaded popular fury by a wholesale lie, which was, however, excusable in the circumstances of the case, Kings Joseph and Jerome proceeded hastily to join Maria Louisa, around whom had already rallied Louis Bonaparte, old Madame Bonaparte, with several of the ministers and their suites. After some painful hesitation as to where they should take up their rest for awhile, the fugitive court fixed upon Blois, where attempts were made upon public credulity by means of sundry bulletins and proclamations that contained about as much truth in them as Joseph's speech to the mob at Sévres. When they entered Blois, which was on the 2d of April, an immense crowd collected to gaze at them; but this crowd preserved a profound silence—no one cried *Vive l'Empereur!* or *Vive l'Imperatrice!*

On the 3d, the people of Blois supposed that the runaway court had received important news from the capital and the army; but not a word was allowed to transpire, and Blois, much agitated, remained in a state of anxious suspense. On the 4th this painful anxiety increased; but at last a waggoner arrived from Paris, with a passport signed SACKEN.* This was enough—this single word proved that the proud capital of France was in the possession of the allies. The waggoner reported that Paris was perfectly quiet, and in the best order

* The Russian governor of Paris.

possible. On receiving this intelligence, Joseph, Jerome, and Clarke, saying they were going to attend to some military duties, set off with headlong speed for Orleans. It was the fate of poor Joseph, who in some essentials was a very good man, to have more of running-away than commonly falls to the lot even of adventurous and unlucky men.

On arriving at Orleans, they found despatches from Napoleon at Fontainebleau, in which he thundered out his wrath at them, and particularly at Joseph for what he styled his cowardice and disobedience in running away from Paris. On the 5th, therefore, the two ex-kings and General Clarke returned to Blois, where they made a stir as if they were going to retrieve the lost affairs of the emperor. They actually prepared to raise troops and recruits *to oppose the provisional government established at Paris*, by the power of Maria Louisa and the regency. No one doubted that this was done in compliance with the orders from Fontainebleau they had received at Orleans, and their measures were in perfect concurrence with Napoleon's contemporaneous proceedings. On the 6th the councillor of state, M. le Comte Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély promulgated some false reports to keep up the spirits of the good people of Blois; but when the source of the good news was known, nobody believed it. On the 7th, Regnault, Cambacérès, and the rest of them with the empress, put forth the proclamation, signed Maria Louisa, which Bourrienne has given in the preceding chapter. (See p. 343.) This precious document was written in the evening of the 6th, two days after Napoleon's virtual abdication, and stuck up at Blois in the night between the 6th and 7th of April, but it bore date the 3d, one day before it. According to the historian of the evanescent regency, the antedate was a trick of the ministers who wished to keep open a chance of accommodation with the provisional government at Paris (whose orders had not reached Blois on the 3d), and at the same time give Napoleon this proof of zeal in his cause, which, in case he should be finally successful, he would be pretty sure to reward. Other well-informed writers, however, are of opinion that the trick was Napoleon's own, and contrived for very evident purposes. However this may be, the proclamation was spread wherever the communications from Blois permitted, and became, as was supposed, the cause, or one of the causes, of that fatal delay which occasioned the bloody battle of Toulouse — a battle fought *à pure perte*, after the game was up with Bonaparte—after he had signed his abdication, the news of which, if not artfully prevented, had had plenty of time to reach the head-quarters of Soult and Wellington at Toulouse.

The perplexities of Joseph, Jerome, and the ministers at Blois continuing to increase, they at last determined to consult their own safety by flying to the south, and carrying Maria Louisa and her son with them. The historian of the regency says—

"Between eight and nine in the morning of Good Friday, April the 8th, Joseph and Jerome proceeded with two carriages to the empress's lodging; they acquainted her that they were going to depart, and that they came to propose to her, for *her* own safety's sake, to accompany them. She asked whither, and by what order she was to go; and observed, that as to her personal safety, that was secure, whether in the hands of the French, the Russians, or the Austrians. They answered, that though they had not an express order from Napoleon, her ties to the imperial family rendered her a *voluntary** and necessary hostage for the safety of that family, and of the state; that their intention was to establish the regency southward of the Loire; and that the carriages for her and her son were at the door. To this proposition Maria Louisa answered only by her tears; when the two kings, little moved by her grief, seized her each by an arm, and were about to force her to the carriages. The empress shrieked for help, which brought some gentlemen of her household to her assistance. Addressing herself to these gentlemen, she implored them, as a last testimony of attachment, to go to the officers of her guard, and learn whether they intended to connive at the violence with which she was threatened. The officers of the guard, informed by M. d'Haussouville of the empress's situation, hastened to her assistance; but the two kings, disconcerted at the audience that had crowded about her, had already retired, ashamed of their attempt, and confused at its failure."

We have heard that this attempt to carry off the empress, for the purpose of raising the standard of civil war south of the Loire, was the device, not of Joseph and Jerome, but of Napoleon himself; and there seems every reason to believe, from the whole of his conduct at Fontainebleau, while these transactions were passing at Blois, that the scheme had been contrived by him. Well may the author say that the determination of Maria Louisa on this occasion saved France from the horrors of a civil war. The European coalition had, indeed, a narrow escape; for while the allied sovereigns were treating with Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, there was an imminent risk of a fresh explosion of hostilities in the provinces behind the Loire.

In this extraordinary state of affairs, however, the imperial regency of France and the city of Blois continued till the evening of the 9th, when a stranger alighted at the Galère inn; and it was immediately reported throughout the anxious town, that a Russian general had arrived at the inn, for the purpose of waiting on the empress.

"The Count de Schouvaloff came alone; and no one interfered either to deny or acknowledge his mission. No one yet

* For this strange use of the word "*voluntary*," the two kings are responsible: we have translated faithfully.

recognised the royal or the provisional government, nor even the authority of the allies. The proclamation of Blois was still in force, and the people who saw it still 'affiché,' did not dare to acknowledge powers which had not even announced their existence."

In the faces, however, of all the ministers (who quitted the palace soon after M. de Schouvaloff's arrival) were read at once consternation and the truth; and the inhabitants of Blois where no longer in doubt that the dynasty of Napoleon had ceased to reign! Then commenced a scene of tragi-comedy, which, perhaps, has never been equalled: their serene highnesses the grand dignitaries, and their excellencies the councillors of state and ministers, who a week since ruled the greatest empire of the world, and who, two days since, had circulated through all France their insolent commands in the proclamation of Blois, suddenly and without any apparent cause (for no troops had approached, and no proceeding of the provisional government was known at Blois) descended from the height of their arrogance, even to the depths of meanness, and ecourted the safeguard and protection of an individual foreigner, who had arrived in their town wholly unaccompanied, and having scarcely any other credential than an unpronounceable name.

But a new circumstance soon occurred, which crowned their highnesses and excellencies with ridicule and contempt.

On quitting Paris, it never had occurred to them to think of passports; their dignities absolved them from all dependence on, or thought of the police: but the hour was now come when, *sauve qui peut*, all found it expedient to provide for their own safety, and when the avowal of their dignities were more likely to impede than facilitate their evasion.

In this perplexity they besieged M. de Schouvaloff in his inn, and with a mixture of earnestness and humility, begged him to afford them the protection of the unpronounceable name!

We do not know whether M. de Schouvaloff is a wag, but he certainly, on this occasion, hit upon one of the pleasantest expedients of quizzing their highnesses and excellencies that could be devised. He professed that he had no authority to grant passports; but if any passports regularly obtained from the mayor of the town should be presented to him, he should not hesitate, he said, to add his signature.

"The Galère was speedily evacuated; Cambacérès, Regnault, Clarke, and the rest hurried to the mayor's office to obtain passports. The mayor's clerk was astonished at the rank and number of his applicants; but the good little man collected his official wits as well as he could, and set himself to comply with the solicitations of the princes and dukes;—but here another difficulty occurred: the form of inferior passports, obtainable from a mayor, required a specification not only of the names and professions of the applicants, but a detailed personal description; this the poor clerk knew not how to ask from such illustrious

personages: but in the condescension of their fear they became so obliging as to make no difficulties on any point, a condescension which the clerk, M. de Bruère, repaid by registering their titles, and the colour of their hair and eyebrows, and the length of their noses and chins, *avec tous les égards que prescrivait la position singulière où se trouvèrent leurs excellences.*"

Furnished with these passports, they returned to the Galère in such shoals, that M. de Schouvaloff's room could not contain their numbers, nor his politeness satisfy their impatience. He however signed all the passports, marking by his graduated civility, the rank which each of those functionaries held in his esteem. To the Duke of Feltre, Clarke, he showed every attention; while on the other hand, he did not sign the passport of his excellency the Duke de Rovigo, without writing on the margin, "M. Savary."

Having thus provided for their personal safety, these worthy ministers gave themselves no further concern about Maria Louisa or the baby King of Rome—they only thought about the money-boxes which the ambulatory regency had brought from Paris. These boxes contained certain millions of francs which they now determined to divide among them, share and share alike. One of the now ex-ministers proposed, in council, that every functionary should be forthwith paid all arrears of salary and allowances, together with three months' pay in advance. Of course there was no dissentient voice to such a proposition, and they "touched the money," taking also a few Napoleons extra for their travelling expenses. The troops had but a small share in these spoils of the defunct empire; and situated as they were, we almost wonder they did not help themselves to a larger one by force. They only got three months pay, though much more was claimed as arrears. Madame Mère, Bonaparte's mother is said, to have received 375,000 francs, making about 18,000*l.* of our money. This high-spirited old lady, instead of desponding, insisted "that it was not all over yet, and that another revolution would soon avenge the wrongs of her family: *Nous autres,*" said she, "*nous nous connaisons en révolutions;*" or, "We Bonapartes understand revolutions." She already foresaw the return from Elba.

On the 10th of April, the regency and its court removed to Orleans, where in a day or two it fell to pieces and disappeared, some of its members going one way and some another, but not one of them repairing out of gratitude and respect to their fallen master who was still at Fontainebleau, and suffering agonies of affliction. Joseph and Jerome got out of France as quickly as they could. It is said that Regnault Saint-Jean-d'Angély went to Clermont in Auvergne, with a white cockade in his hat, and that he there soundly rated the mayor and the sub-prefect for their not having yet assumed the ensign of loyalty to the Bourbons. Cambacérès travelled quietly with his cook and stewpans to Paris, where the surpassing excellence of his dinners soon caused his political transgressions to be forgotten.

MACDONALD.

From an engraving by Haller, after Gumoens.

Place and date of publication unknown.

Maria Louisa under the protection of some gentlemen sent by her father, went from Orleans to Rambouillet, whence she shortly after proceeded to Vienna. The kind-hearted and conscientious Louis Bonaparte remained for a short time at Blois, seeking, during the celebration of the holy or Easter week, the consolations of religion. He then retired into Switzerland to find more enjoyment among mountains and lakes, than he had ever experienced in courts and palaces. And thus ended the regency of Blois—a singular chapter in the history of the nineteenth century.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

1814.

Unalterable determination of the allies with respect to Napoleon—Fontainebleau included in the limits to be occupied by the allies—Alexander's departure from Paris—Napoleon informed of the necessity of his unconditional abdication—Macdonald and Ney again sent to Paris—Alleged attempt of Napoleon to poison himself—Farewell interview between Macdonald and Napoleon—The sabre of Murad-Bey—Signature of the act of unconditional abdication—Tranquillity of Paris during the change of government—Ukase of the Emperor of Russia relative to the post-office—Religious ceremony on the Place Louis XV.—Arrival of the Count d'Artois—His entrance into Paris—Arrival of the Emperor of Austria—Singular assemblage of sovereigns in France—Visit of the Emperor of Austria to Maria Louisa—Her interview with the Emperor Alexander—Her departure for Vienna.

When Marmont left Paris on the receipt of the intelligence from Essonne, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza, waited upon the Emperor Alexander to learn his resolution before they should acquaint him with the movement of Marmont's troops. The Emperor Alexander had walked out at six in the morning to the residence of the King of Prussia, in the Rue de Bourbon. The two sovereigns afterwards proceeded together to M. de Talleyrand's, where they were when Napoleon's commissioners arrived. The commissioners being introduced to the two sovereigns, the Emperor Alexander, in answer to their proposition, replied, that the regency was impossible, as submissions to the provisional government were pouring in from all parts, and that if the army had formed contrary wishes, those should have been sooner made known. "Sire," observed Macdonald, "that was impossible, as none of the marshals were in Paris, and, besides, who could foresee the turn which affairs have taken. Could we imagine that an unfounded alarm would have removed from Essonne the corps of the Duke de Ragusa, who has this moment left us to bring his troops back to order?" These words produced no change in the determination of the sovereigns, who would hear of nothing but the unconditional

abdication of Napoleon. Before the marshals took leave of the Emperor Alexander, they solicited an armistice of forty-eight hours, which time they said was indispensable to negotiate the act of abdication with Napoleon. This request was granted without hesitation, and the Emperor Alexander showing Macdonald a map of the environs of Paris, courteously presented him with a pencil, saying, " Here, marshal, mark yourself the limits to be observed by the two armies."—" No, sire," replied Macdonald, " we are the conquered party, and it is for you to mark the line of demarcation." Alexander determined that the right bank of the Seine should be occupied by the allied troops, and the left bank by the French; but it was observed that this arrangement would be attended with inconvenience, as it would cut Paris in two, and it was agreed that the line should turn Paris. I have been informed, that on a map sent to the Austrian staff to acquaint Prince Schwartzenberg with the limits definitively agreed on, Fontainebleau, the emperor's head-quarters, was by some artful means included within the line. The Austrians acted so implicitly on this direction, that Marshal Macdonald was obliged to complain on the subject to Alexander, who removed all obstacles.

When, in discussing the question of the abdication conformably with the instructions he had received, Macdonald observed to the Emperor Alexander, that Napoleon wished for nothing for himself, " Assure him," replied Alexander, " that a provision shall be made for him worthy of the rank he has occupied. Tell him, that if he wishes to reside in my states he shall be well received, though he brought desolation there. I shall always remember the friendship which united us. He shall have the island of Elba, or *something else*. After taking leave of the Emperor Alexander on the 5th of April, Napoleon's commissioners returned to Fontainebleau to render an account of their mission. I saw Alexander that same day, and it appeared to me that his mind was relieved of a great weight by the question of the regency being brought to an end. I was informed that he intended to quit Paris in a few days, and that he had given full powers to M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, whom he appointed his commissioner to the provisional government.

On the same day, the 5th of April, Napoleon inspected his troops in the Palace-yard of Fontainebleau. He observed some coolness among his officers, and even among the private soldiers who had evinced such enthusiasm when he inspected them on the 2d of April. He was so much affected by this change of conduct that he remained but a short time on the parade, and afterwards retired to his apartments.

At near one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt, arrived at Fontainebleau to acquaint the emperor with the issue of their mission, and the sentiments expressed by Alexander when they took leave of him.

Marshal Ney was the first to announce to Napoleon that the allies required his complete and unconditional abdication, unaccompanied by any stipulation, except that of his personal safety, which should be guaranteed. Marshal Macdonald and the Duke de Vicenza then spoke to the same effect, but in more gentle terms than those employed by Ney, who was but little versed in the courtesies of speech. When Marshal Macdonald had finished speaking, Napoleon said with some emotion, "Marshal, I am sensible of all that you have done for me, and of the warmth with which you have pleaded the cause of my son. They wish for my complete and unconditional abdication ..... Very well ..... I again empower you to act on my behalf. You shall go and defend my interests and those of my family." Then, after a moment's pause, he added, still addressing Macdonald, "Marshal, where shall I go?" Macdonald then informed the emperor what Alexander had mentioned in the hypothesis of his wishing to reside in Russia. "Sire," added he, "the Emperor of Russia told me that he destined for you the island of Elba, or something else."—"Or something else!" repeated Napoleon hastily ..... "and what is that something else?"—"Sire, I know not."—"Ah! it is doubtless the island of Corsica, and he refrained from mentioning it to avoid embarrassment. Marshal, I refer all to you."

The marshals returned to Paris as soon as Napoleon furnished them with new powers; Caulaincourt remained at Fontainebleau. On arriving in Paris, Marshal Ney sent in his adhesion to the provisional government, so that when Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau to convey to Napoleon the definitive treaty of the allies, Ney did not accompany him, and the emperor expressed surprise and dissatisfaction at his absence. Ney, as all his friends concurred in admitting, expended his whole energy in battle, and often wanted resolution when out of the field; consequently, I was not surprised to find that he joined us before some other of his comrades. As to Macdonald, he was one of those generous spirits who may be most confidently relied on by those who have wronged them. Napoleon experienced the truth of this. Macdonald returned alone to Fontainebleau, and when he entered the emperor's chamber, he found him seated in a small arm-chair before the fireplace. He was dressed in a morning-gown of white dimity, and he wore his slippers without stockings. His elbows rested on his knees and his head was supported by his hands. He was motionless and seemed absorbed in profound reflection. Only two persons were in the apartment, the Duke de Bassano, who was at a little distance from the emperor, and Caulaincourt, who was near the fireplace. So profound was Napoleon's revery that he did not hear Macdonald enter, and the Duke de Vicenza was obliged to inform him of the marshal's presence.—"Sire," said Caulaincourt, "the Duke de Tarento has brought for your signature the treaty which is to be ratified

to-morrow."* The emperor then, as if roused from a lethargic slumber, turned to Macdonald, and merely said, "Ah, Marshal! so you are here!" Napoleon's countenance was so altered that the marshal, struck with the change, said as if it were involuntarily, "Is your Majesty indisposed?"—"Yes," answered Napoleon, "I have passed a very bad night."†

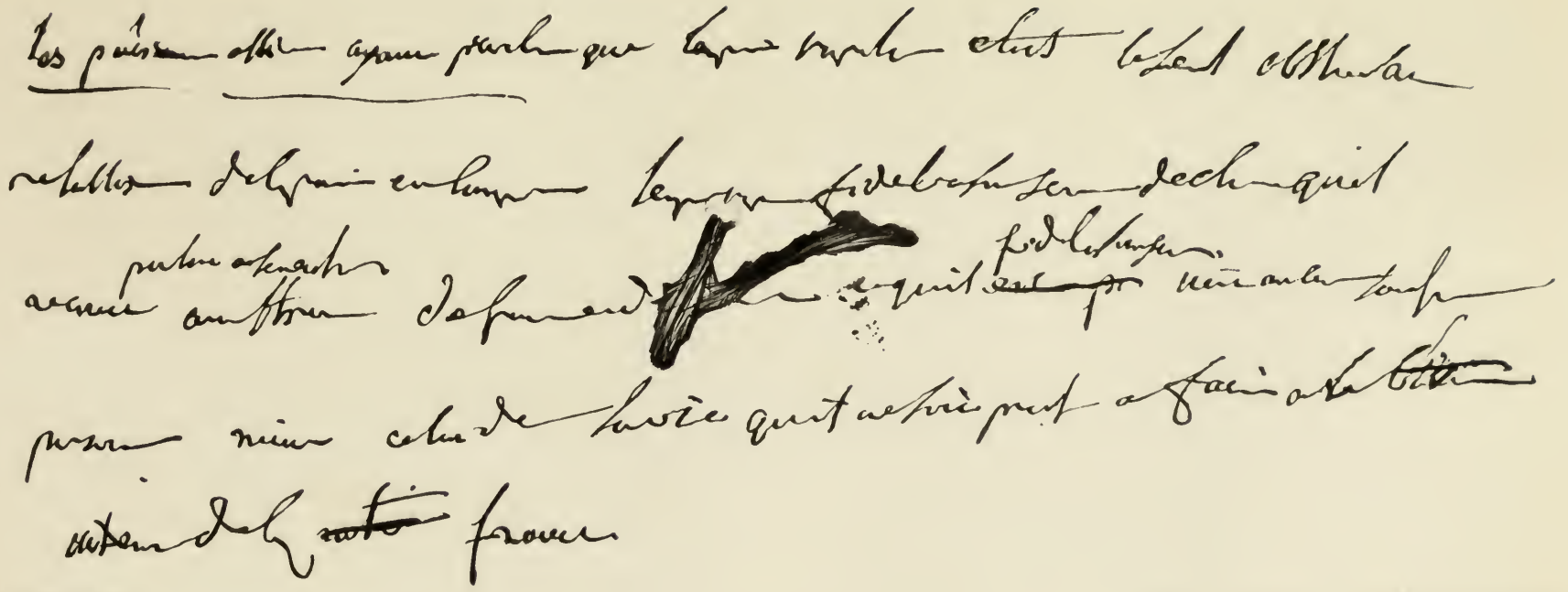
The emperor continued seated for a moment; then rising, he took the treaty, read it without making any observation, signed it, and returned it to the marshal, saying, "I am not now rich enough to reward these last services."—"Sire, interest never guided my conduct."—"I know that, and I now see how I have been deceived respecting you. I also see the designs of those who prejudiced me against you."—"Sire, I have already told you since 1809, I am devoted to you in life and death."—"I know it. But since I cannot reward you as I would wish, let a token of remembrance, inconsiderable though it be, assure you that I shall ever bear in mind the services you have rendered me." Then turning to Caulaincourt, Napoleon said, "Vicenza, ask for the sabre which was given me by Murad Bey, in Egypt, and which I wore at the battle of Mount Thabor." Constant having brought the sabre, the emperor took it from the hands of Caulaincourt and presented it to the marshal: "Here, my faithful friend," said he, "is a reward which I believe will gratify you." Macdonald on receiving the sabre said, "If ever I have a son, sire, this will be his most precious inheritance. I will never part with it as long as I live."—"Give me your hand," said the emperor, "and embrace me." At these words Napoleon and Macdonald affectionately rushed into each other's arms, and parted with tears in their eyes. Such was the last interview between Macdonald and Napoleon. I had the above particulars from the marshal himself in 1814, a few days after he returned to Paris with the treaty ratified by Napoleon.

* A translation of this treaty will be found at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

† It has been alleged that on the night preceding Macdonald's return to Fontainebleau, Napoleon made an attempt to poison himself. But as I have no certain knowledge respecting this affair, I shall not, as some persons have done, hazard conjectures on the subject. The circumstance was decidedly contradicted by Napoleon in his conversation at Saint Helena. The only person who can remove the doubts which exist on the subject is Constant, who, I have been informed, never left Napoleon the whole night.

[Constant, in his "Memoirs," confirms the report of Napoleon having taken poison at Fontainebleau. He states that on the night of the 11th of April he was suddenly called up on account of the emperor's indisposition. On entering Napoleon's chamber, he perceived in the fireplace a small leathern bag tied by a black ribbon, which he knew had contained opium, and which Napoleon had worn round his neck in all his campaigns, since the commencement of the Spanish war. Caulaincourt and Yvan were immediately sent for. The dose was not sufficiently potent to produce death, and Napoleon recovered before morning.—We must confess, however, that we have still some doubts as to the authenticity of this story.—*Editor.*]

Fac Simile of the abdication of Napoleon in 1814.



6. Avril 1814.

Calqué sur l'original et gravé par Pierre Jadeu

Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé que l'empereur Napoleon etait le seul obstacle au retablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur, fidéle á son serment, declare qu'il renonce pour lui et ses enfans, aux trônes de France et d'Italie, et qu'il n'est aucun sacrifice, même celui de la vie, qu'il ne soit prêt á faire aux intérêts de la France.

After the clauses of the treaty had been guaranteed, Napoleon signed on the 11th of April, at Fontainebleau, his act of abdication, which was in the following terms: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

It was not until after Bonaparte had written and signed the above act that Marshal Macdonald sent to the provisional government his recognition, expressed in the following dignified and simple manner: "Being released from my oaths by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I adhere to the acts of the senate and the provisional government." It is worthy of remark, that Napoleon's act of abdication was published in the Moniteur on the 12th of April, the very day on which the Count d'Artois made his entry into Paris, with the title of Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom, conferred on him by Louis XVIII. The 12th of April was also the day on which the imperial army fought its last battle before Toulouse, when the French troops, commanded by Soult, made Wellington purchase dearly his entrance into the south of France.

Political revolutions are generally stormy; yet, during the great change of 1814, Paris was perfectly tranquil, thanks to the excellent discipline maintained by the commanders of the allied armies; and thanks also to the services of the national guard of Paris who every night patrolled the streets. My duties as director-general of the post-office, had of course obliged me to resign my captain's epaulette.

When I first obtained my appointment I had been somewhat alarmed to hear that all the roads were covered with foreign troops, especially Cossacks, who even in time of peace are very ready to capture any horses that may fall in their way. On my application to the Emperor Alexander, his majesty immediately issued a ukase, severely prohibiting the seizure of horses, or any thing belonging to the post-office department. The ukase was printed by order of the emperor, and fixed up at all the post-offices, and it will be seen, that after the 20th of March, when I was placed in an embarrassing situation, one of the postmasters on the Lille road expressed to me his gratitude for my conduct while I was in the service.

On the 10th of April, a ceremony took place in Paris, which has been much spoken of, and which must have had a very imposing effect on those who allow themselves to be dazzled by mere spectacle. Early in the morning some regiments of the allied troops occupied the north side of the Boulevard, from the site of the old Bastile to the Place Louis XV., in the middle of which a square monument was erected. Thither the allied sove-

reigns came to witness the celebration of mass, according to the rites of the Greek church. I went to a window of the hotel of the minister of marine to see the ceremony. After I had waited from eight in the morning till near twelve, the pageant commenced by the arrival of half a dozen Greek priests, with long beards, and as richly dressed as the high priests who figure in the processions of the opera. About three-quarters of an hour after this first scene, the infantry, followed by the cavalry, entered the place, which, in a few moments was entirely covered with military. The allied sovereigns at length appeared, attended by brilliant staffs. They alighted from their horses, and advanced to the altar. What appeared to me most remarkable, was the profound silence of the vast multitude during the performance of the mass. The whole spectacle had the effect of a finely-painted panorama. For my own part, I must confess I was heartily tired of the ceremony, and was very glad when it was over. I could not admire the foreign uniforms, which were very inferior to ours. Many of them appeared fanciful, and even grotesque: and nothing can be more unsoldier-like than to see a man laced in stays till his figure resembles a wasp.* The ceremony which took place two days after, though less pompous, was much more French. In the retinue which, on the 12th of April, momentarily increased round the Count d'Artois, there were at least recollections for the old, and hopes for every one.

When, on the departure of the commissioners whom Napoleon had sent to Alexander to treat for the regency, it was finally determined that the allied sovereigns would listen to no proposition from Napoleon and his family, the provisional government thought it time to request that Monsieur would, by his presence, give a new impulse to the partisans of the Bourbons. The Abbé de Montesquiou wrote to the prince a letter, which was carried to him by Viscount Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, one of the individuals who, in these difficult circumstances, most zealously served the cause of the Bourbons. On the afternoon of the 11th, Monsieur arrived at a country-house belonging to Madame Charles de Damas, where he passed the night. The news of his arrival spread through Paris with the rapidity of lightning, and every one wished to solemnize his entrance into the capital. The national guard formed a double line from the barrier of Bondy to Notre Dame, whither the prince was first to proceed, in observance of an old custom, which, however, had become very rare in France during the last twenty years.

M. de Talleyrand, accompanied by the members of the provisional government, several marshals and general officers, and the municipal body, headed by the prefect of the Seine, went in

* This account of the appearance of the allied troops is somewhat tinged with French prejudice. We append an English description to the present chapter.—*Editor.*

procession beyond the barrier to receive Monsieur. M. de Talleyrand, in the name of the provisional government, addressed the prince, who, in reply, made that observation which has been so often repeated, "Nothing is changed in France: there is only one Frenchman more." This remark promised much. The Count d'Artois next proceeded on horseback to the barrier Saint Martin. I mingled in the crowd to see the procession, and to observe the sentiments of the spectators. Near me stood an old knight of Saint Louis, who had resumed the insignia of the order, and who wept for joy at again seeing one of the Bourbons. The procession soon arrived, preceded by a band playing the air, "Vive Henri Quatre!" I had never before seen Monsieur, and his appearance had a most pleasing effect upon me. His open countenance bore the expression of that confidence which his presence inspired in all who saw him. His staff was very brilliant, considering it was got together without preparation. The prince wore the uniform of the national guard, with the insignia of the order of the Holy Ghost. I must candidly state, that where I saw Monsieur pass, enthusiasm was chiefly confined to his own retinue, and to persons who appeared to belong to a superior class of society. The lower order of people seemed to be animated by curiosity and astonishment, rather than any other feeling. I must add, that it was not without painful surprise I saw a squadron of Cossacks close the procession; and my surprise was the greater, when I learned from General Sacken that the Emperor Alexander had wished that on that day the *one Frenchman more* should be surrounded only by Frenchmen; and that to prove that the presence of the Bourbons was the signal of reconciliation, his majesty had ordered twenty thousand of the allied troops to quit Paris. I know not to what the presence of the Cossacks is to be attributed, but it was an awkward circumstance at the time, and one which malevolence did not fail to seize upon.

Two days only intervened between Monsieur's entrance into Paris and the arrival of the Emperor of Austria. That monarch was not popular among the Parisians. The line of conduct he had adopted was almost generally condemned; for, even among those who had most ardently wished for the dethronement of his daughter, through their aversion to the Bonaparte family, there were many who blamed the emperor of Austria's behaviour to Maria Louisa: they would have wished, that for the honour of Francis II., he had unsuccessfully opposed the downfal of the dynasty, whose alliance he considered as a safeguard in 1809. This was the opinion which the mass of the people instinctively formed; for they judged of the Emperor of Austria in his character of a father, and not in his character of a monarch; and as the rights of misfortune are always sacred in France, more interest was felt for Maria Louisa, when she was known to be

forsaken, than when she was in the height of her splendour. Francis II. had not seen his daughter since the day when she left Vienna to unite her destiny with that of the master of half of Europe; and I have already stated how he received the mission with which Maria Louisa intrusted the Duke de Cadore.

I was then too intent on what was passing in Paris and at Fontainebleau, to observe with equal interest all the circumstances connected with the fate of Maria Louisa; but I will present to the reader all the information I was able to collect respecting that princess during the period immediately preceding her departure from France. She constantly assured the persons about her that she could rely on her father. The following words, which were faithfully reported to me, were addressed by her to an officer who was at Blois during the mission of M. de Champagny: "Even though it should be the intention of the allied sovereigns to dethrone the Emperor Napoleon, my father will not suffer it. When he placed me on the throne of France, he repeated to me twenty times his determination to uphold me on it; and my father is a good man." I also know that the empress, both at Blois and at Orleans, expressed her regret at not having followed the advice of the members of the regency, who wished her to stay in Paris.

On leaving Orleans, Maria Louisa proceeded to Rambouillet; and it was not one of the least extraordinary circumstances of that eventful period to see the sovereigns of Europe, the dethroned sovereigns of France, and those who had come to resume the sceptre, all crowded together within a circle of fifteen leagues round the capital. There was a Bourbon at the Tuileries, Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, his wife and son at Rambouillet, the repudiated empress three leagues distant, and the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, in Paris.

When all her hopes had vanished, Maria Louisa left Rambouillet to return to Austria with her son. She did not obtain permission to see Napoleon before her departure, though she had frequently expressed a wish to that effect. Napoleon himself was aware of the embarrassment which might have attended such a farewell, or, otherwise, he would no doubt have made a parting interview with Maria Louisa one of the clauses of the treaty of Paris and Fontainebleau, and of his definitive act of abdication. I was informed at the time, that the reason which prevented Maria Louisa's wish from being acceded to was the fear that, by one of those sudden impulses common to women, she might have determined to unite herself to Napoleon's fallen fortune, and accompany him to Elba; but the Emperor of Austria wished to have his daughter back again.

Things had arrived at this point, and there was no possibility of retracting from any of the decisions which had been formed, when the Emperor of Austria went to see his daughter at Rambouillet. I recollect it was thought extraordinary at the time, that the Emperor Alexander should accompany him on this visit; and, indeed, the sight of the sovereign, who was regarded as the head and arbiter of the coalition, could not be agreeable to the dethroned empress. The two emperors set off from Paris shortly after each other. The Emperor of Austria arrived first at Rambouillet, where he was received with respect and affection by his daughter. Maria Louisa was happy to see him, but the many tears she shed were not all tears of joy. After the first effusion of filial affection, she complained of the situation to which she was reduced. Her father sympathized with her, but could offer her no consolation, since her misfortunes were irreparable. Alexander was expected to arrive immediately, and the Emperor of Austria, therefore, informed his daughter that the Russian monarch wished to see her. At first Maria Louisa decidedly refused to receive him, and she persisted for some time in this resolution. She said to her father, "Would he make me a prisoner before your eyes? If he enters here by force, I will retire to my chamber. There, I presume, he will not dare to follow me while you are here." But there was no time to be lost, Francis II. heard the equipage of the Emperor of Russia rolling through the courtyard of Rambouillet, and his entreaties to his daughter became more and more urgent. At length she yielded, and the Emperor of Austria went himself to meet his ally, and conduct him to the saloon where Maria Louisa remained, in deference to her father. She did not, however, carry her deference so far as to give a favourable reception to him whom she regarded as the author of all her misfortunes. She listened with considerable coldness to the offers and protestations of Alexander, and merely replied, that all she wished for was the liberty of returning to her family.* A few days after this painful interview, Maria Louisa and her son set off for Vienna.

* A few days after this visit, Alexander paid his respects to Bonaparte's other wife, Josephine. See Addenda to this chapter.—*Editor.*

The Treaty of Paris, concluded between the Allies and Napoleon, on April the 11*th*, 1814.

Art. 1. His majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for every member of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion in the French empire, the kingdom of Italy, or in any other country whatsoever.

Art. 2. Their majesties the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Maria Louisa preserve these titles and qualities during their lifetime; the mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the emperor, are equally, and in all places, to retain the title of princes of his family.

Art. 3. The island of Elba, adopted by the Emperor Napoleon for the place of his residence, will form, during his lifetime, a separate principality, to be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property. In addition, there will be given to the Emperor Napoleon, in full property, an annual revenue of two millions of francs,* in rents on the grand livre of France, of which one million will be reversible to the empress.

Art. 4. All the powers engage to employ their good offices in order to cause the flag and the territory of the island of Elba to be respected by the Barbary states, and to assimilate its relations with the Barbary states to those enjoyed by France.

Art. 5. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, will be given in full sovereignty to her majesty the Empress Maria Louisa; they will pass to her son and to his descendants in the direct line. The prince, her son, will assume, from this moment, the name of Prince of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla.

Art. 6. There will be reserved, in the countries which the Emperor Napoleon now renounces, for himself and his family, domains and estates, or rents will be given on the grand livre of France, amounting to an annual net revenue of 2,500,000 francs, without deduction of any charges or expenses whatsoever. These domains or rents will belong in full property, and to be disposed of as they think fit, to the princes and princesses of his family, and will be divided among them in such a manner that the annual revenue of each shall be in the proportion following; viz.:

300,000 francs to Madame Mère;
500,000 francs to King Joseph and his queen;
200,000 francs to King Louis;
400,000 francs to his Queen Hortense and her son;
500,000 francs to King Jerome and his queen;
300,000 francs to the Princess Eliza;
300,000 francs to the Princess Pauline.

* The reader will remember that Bonaparte offered the pope a pension of two millions of francs, being the precise sum he himself was thus obliged to accept!

The princes and princesses of the emperor's family will, moreover, preserve all the goods, moveable or immoveable, and of whatsoever nature they may be, that they possess as private persons, and especially the rents they enjoy on the grand livre of France, or the Mont Napoleon at Milan.

Art. 7. The annual allowance to the Empress Josephine will be reduced to one million, in domains, or in inscriptions on the grand livre of France. She will continue to enjoy, in full property, all her goods, moveable or immoveable, that belong to her as a private person.

Art. 8. To the Prince Eugène, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment will be given out of France.

Art. 9. The property which his majesty the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, whether in extraordinary domains or private estates, will remain to the French crown. Upon the funds placed by the Emperor Napoleon on the grand livre, in the bank of France, in the woods and forests, or in any other manner employed in France, and all which his majesty now surrenders to the crown, there will be reserved a capital, not exceeding two millions, to be employed in gratifications in favour of persons who shall be inscribed on a list which the Emperor Napoleon will sign, and which will be remitted to the French government.

Art. 10. All the diamonds of the crown will remain with France.

Art. 11. The Emperor Napoleon will pay into the treasury, or the other public chests, all the sums and effects that have been displaced by his orders, always excepting the civil list.

Art. 12. The household debts of his majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they may be at the time of the signing this treaty, will be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to the statements which shall be drawn out and signed by a commissary appointed to that effect.

Art. 13. The obligations of the Mont Napoleon of Milan towards all its creditors, whether French or foreigners, will be exactly fulfilled, without there being any change in this respect.

Art. 14. Passports will be given, and all the safeconducts necessary, for the free journey of his majesty the emperor, the empress, the princes and princesses, and all persons of their suites that may wish to accompany them, or establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects, that belong to them. The allied powers, in consequence, will give escorts of officers and men.

Art. 15. The imperial French guard will furnish a detachment of from twelve to fifteen hundred men of all arms, to serve as an escort as far as Saint Tropez, the place of embarkation.

Art. 16. There will be furnished an armed corvette, and other vessels necessary to carry the Emperor Napoleon and his retinue to Elba. The corvette is to remain as his majesty's own property.

Art. 17. His majesty the Emperor Napoleon will conduct with him, and afterwards keep with him as his guard, four hundred men, including officers and non-commissioned officers, who shall all engage voluntarily.

Art. 18. All Frenchmen who shall follow the Emperor Napoleon or

his family will be bound, unless they choose to forfeit their citizenship as Frenchmen, to return to France within the term of three years, always excepting those among them who may be comprised in employments which the French government reserves to itself the right of giving after the expiration of that term.

Art. 19. The Polish troops, of all arms, now in the service of France, will have liberty to return to their homes, preserving their arms and baggage as a testimonial of their honourable services: the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, will keep their military orders, and the pensions attached to their orders.

Art. 20. The high allied powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty. They also engage to obtain the adoption of the articles, and the guarantee of the treaty from France.

Art 21. The present treaty shall be ratified.—*Editor.*

AN ENGLISH ACCOUNT OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES IN FRANCE IN 1814.

"It would be wrong in me, however, to overlook, without comment, the two great military reviews and manœuvres that took place in France previous to the allied troops withdrawing from their cantonments within that country; namely, those of all the Russian forces at Vertu, and subsequently of the Austrians at Dijon.

"The concentration of two such immense masses of foreign force in two very small *champs de parade*, in the midst of the French empire, will, it is hoped, remain a useful memento of the vicissitudes of war to French vanity, and a glorious record of European valour.

"It was either on the 9th or 10th of September, 1814, that I left Paris, to witness the great review of the Russian army, for which preparations had been making for nearly a month before. The number of the forces collected was so considerable, that it was not easy to bring them into a space sufficiently small for the parade movements of review; but it was at length effected; and they mustered, when we saw them, 28,000 cavalry, 132,000 infantry, and 540 pieces of cannon. This was made known from field returns, which were given to the sovereigns who were present.

"I was accompanied by my aides-de-camp, Sir Henry Brown, Colonel Harris, Captain Charles Wood; and I ought here to particularize especially the services of Mr. John Bidwell, of the foreign office, who was also with me. This gentleman had been attached to all my fortunes since the moment of my landing in the north of Germany. His constant and unremitting labour in carrying forward the various and voluminous correspondence with the foreign and war departments, I never can too highly appreciate; and it is always the most grateful task for my mind to acknowledge the merit, and to state what I feel I owe to the exertions and zeal of others. Sir Henry Hardinge also was of my party, having made his expedition *en*

courier to Vertu in a manner that showed his active and tried zeal in the great cause of gallantry, and his devotion to the service.

"The day was exceedingly sultry, but tolerably clear; and the spot where the head-quarters first assembled to have a sort of bird's-eye view of the whole, was a small hill in the centre of a large plain, near the village of Vertu, a short distance from Chalons. Several English ladies, together with all the princesses, duchesses, and first persons of Paris, were assembled (having been invited), and made parties to proceed from the capital to witness the magnificent spectacle. Amongst our own countrywomen, were Ladies Castlereagh, Combermere, Grantham, Mrs. Arbuthnot, Miss Fitzclarence, and others, whose names it would be tedious to enumerate, who graced this most brilliant and unparalleled sight.

"In going through the field, several of the ladies rode in company with the gallant chiefs; and English beauty was signalized by the Emperor of Russia's presenting a beautiful black charger to one of our fair countrywomen, to carry her through the ceremonies of the day; but I never rightly understood the feeling that recalled this war-horse back to the imperial stables on the following morning. A flag-staff had been placed on the top of the hill, having an ensign ready to be hoisted on the arrival of the sovereigns at the spot. We were on horseback about seven o'clock; and at eight the King of Prussia, attended by the commanders-in-chief of the allied armies, the ambassadors of nearly all the powers of Europe, and many of their prime ministers, with several of the French marshals and an immense staff of aides-de-camp, &c., began to ascend the height.

"On the arrival of the sovereigns at the spot fixed upon for them the ensign was unfurled, a salvo of guns announced their presence, and the whole Russian army then assembled was seen drawn up in three lines, extending as far as the eye could reach. The sun glittered on their arms, and on the drawn sabres of the cavalry, to a distance that appeared almost imaginary. The eye had scarcely time to comprehend so vast a spectacle, when a gun fired from the troops. Even at this distant day those hurrahs sound freshly in my ears; a second gun gave the time for a general salute. The cannon and musketry began at once, and the fire ran along the three extended lines, showing more distinctly than any thing else could have done the vast space they occupied, by the distant flashes and retiring sound of the musketry. I forget exactly how long a time was necessary for three rounds from these saluting tens of thousands.

"We rode down the hill, and the Russians broke from their lines into grand columns of regiments; no one but a soldier can conceive the beauty of this great simultaneous change. A spot was then fixed upon for these masses to march by the sovereigns; and the Emperor of Russia putting himself at the head of the leading regiments, thus formed in columns, marched past, and saluted the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia; then placing himself by their side to see the rest of the army go by. The whole of the day was only sufficient to give time for a re-formation into line, and an opening of ranks, along which the cavalcade of monarchs and their immense suite rode.

"The Emperor of Russia appeared greatly occupied with the Duke of Wellington (who was at this period our ambassador at Paris), as

if anxious for his opinion of what was passing before them; and his whole attention was given to him when not taken up with his fair companions, who rode on both his flanks. Thus closed the first day, never to be forgotten by those who witnessed the grand military display it presented. Great dinners at different bivouacs were given on the ground; and my party of ladies and friends will make me long remember the day.

"The Duke of Wellington, Sir Lowry Cole, and various military friends, met together in the evening at my quarters, full of admiration of the movements they had seen; and I well remember the Duke of Wellington saying to me, 'Well, Charles, you and I never saw such a sight before, and never shall again: the precision of the movements of those troops was more like the arrangements of a theatre than those of such an army.—I never saw any thing like it.'

"Much, however, as the duke was struck with the extraordinary perfection of the Russian formations, he was by no means satisfied with their slowness; and I remember a remark from him, that his little army would move round them in any direction whilst they were effecting a single change; an opinion which all who heard it re-echoed."*

DEATH OF JOSEPHINE.

In this great breaking up of empires and kingdoms, the unfortunate Josephine, who had been suffering agonies on account of the husband who had abandoned her, was not forgotten. One of the first things the Emperor of Russia did on arriving at Paris was to despatch a guard for the protection of her beautiful little palace at Malmaison. The allied sovereigns treated her with delicacy and tender consideration.

"As soon as the Emperor Alexander knew that the Empress Josephine had arrived at Malmaison, he hastened to pay her a visit. It is not possible to be more amiable than he was to her. When in the course of conversation he spoke of the occupation of Paris by the allies, and of the position of the Emperor Napoleon, it was always in perfectly measured language: he never forgot, for a single instant, that he was speaking before one who had been the wife of his vanquished enemy. On her side the empress did not conceal the tender sentiments, the lively affection she still entertained for Napoleon. * * * * Alexander had certainly something elevated and magnanimous in his character, which would not permit him to say a single word capable of insulting misfortune; the empress had only one prayer to make to him, and that was for her children."

This visit was soon followed by those of the other allied princes.

* From Lord Londonderry's Narrative.

"The King of Prussia, and the princes, his sons, came rather frequently to pay their court to Josephine; they even dined with her several times at Malmaison; but the Emperor Alexander came much more frequently. The Queen Hortense was always with her mother when she received the sovereigns, and assisted her in doing the honours of the house. The illustrious strangers exceedingly admired Malmaison, which seemed to them a charming residence. They were particularly struck with its fine gardens and conservatories." *

From this moment, however, poor Josephine's health rapidly declined, and she did not live to see Napoleon's return from Elba. She often said to her attendant, "I do not know what is the matter with me, but at times I have fits of melancholy enough to kill me." But on the very brink of the grave she retained all her amiability, all her love of dress, and the graces and resources of a drawing-room society. The immediate cause of her death was a bad cold she caught in taking a drive in the park of Malmaison on a damp, cold day. She expired on the noon of Sunday, the 26th of May, in the fifty-third year of her age. Her body was embalmed, and on the sixth day after her death, deposited in a vault in the church of Ruel, close to Malmaison. The funeral ceremonies were magnificent, but a better tribute to the memory of Josephine was to be found in the tears with which her children, her servants, the neighbouring poor, and all that knew her, followed her to the grave. In 1826 a beautiful monument was erected over her remains by Eugène Beauharnais and his wife, with this simple inscription:

TO JOSEPHINE.

EUGENE. HORTENSE.

Editor.

* Memoirs of Mademoiselle d'Avrillion.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1814.

Italy and Eugène—Siege of Dantzic—Capitulation concluded but not ratified—Rapp made prisoner and sent to Kiow—Davoust's refusal to believe the intelligence from Paris—Projected assassination of one of the French princes—Departure of Davoust and General Hogendorff from Hamburg—The affair of Maubreuil—Arrival of the commissioners of the allied powers at Fontainebleau—Preference shown by Napoleon to Colonel Campbell—Bonaparte's address to General Kohler—His farewell to his troops—First day of Napoleon's journey—The imperial guard succeeded by the Cossacks—Rencounter with Augereau—The first white cockades—Napoleon hanged in effigy at Orgon—His escape in the disguise of a courier—Scene in the inn of La Calade—Arrival at Aix—The Princess Pauline—Napoleon embarks for Elba.

I MUST now direct the attention of the reader to Italy, which was the cradle of Napoleon's glory, and towards which he transported himself in imagination from the palace of Fontainebleau. Eugène had succeeded in keeping up his means of defence until April; but, on the 7th of that month, being positively informed of the overwhelming reverses of France, he found himself constrained to accede to the propositions of the Marshal de Bellegarde, to treat for the evacuation of Italy; and on the 10th a convention was concluded, in which it was stipulated that the French troops, under the command of Eugène, should return within the limits of old France. The clauses of this convention were executed on the 19th of April.* In his farewell address to the French soldiers, Eugène said, "Long misfortunes have oppressed our country. France, seeking a remedy for her disasters, has taken refuge behind her old Egis. The recollection of all her sufferings is effaced by the hope of the repose necessary after so much agitation. You are now about to return to your homes, and it would have been gratifying to me

* Lord William Bentinck, and Sir Edward Pellew had taken Genoa on the 18th of April. Murat was in the field with the Austrians against the French.—*Editor.*

to accompany you thither; but I separate from you to fulfil duties which I owe to the Italian people."

Eugène, thinking that the senate of Milan was favourably disposed towards him, solicited that body to use its influence in obtaining the consent of the allied powers to his continuance at the head of the government of Italy;* but this proposition was rejected by the senate. A feeling of irritation pervaded the public mind in Italy; and the army had not proceeded three marches beyond Mantua, when an insurrection broke out in Milan. The finance minister, Prina, was assassinated, and his residence demolished: and nothing would have saved the viceroy from a similar fate, had he been in his capital. Amidst this popular excitement, and the eagerness of the Italians to be released from the dominion of the French, the friends of Eugène thought him fortunate in being able to join his father-in-law at Munich, almost incognito.† Thus, at the expiration of nine years, fell the iron crown which Napoleon had placed on his head, saying, "*Dieu me l'a donné; gare à qui la touche.*"

I will now take a glance at the affairs of Germany. Rapp was not in France at the period of the fall of the empire. He had, with extraordinary courage and skill, defended himself against a year's siege at Dantzic. At length, being reduced to the last extremity, and constrained to surrender, he opened the gates of the city, which presented nothing but heaps of ruins. Rapp had stipulated that the garrison of Dantzic should return to France, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the siege, had consented to that condition; but the Emperor of Russia having refused to ratify it, and Rapp having no means of defence, was made prisoner with his troops, and conducted to Kiow whence he afterwards returned to Paris, where I saw him.

Hamburg still held out; but, at the beginning of April, intelligence was received there of the extraordinary events which had delivered Europe from her oppressor. Davoust refused to believe this news, which at once annihilated all his hopes of power and greatness. This blindness was persisted in for some time at Hamburg. Several hawkers, who were marked out by

* The following is a curious circumstance relative to the senate of Milan. In the height of our disasters, that body sent a deputation to congratulate *Napoleon the Great* on the prospect of his triumphing over all his enemies. The deputation on its way received intelligence of the siege of Paris, and had just time to get back to Milan to be appointed to congratulate the allies on the *downfal of the tyrant.*

† Some time after, Eugène visited France, and had a long audience of Louis XVIII. He announced himself to that monarch by his father's title of Marquis de Beauharnais. The king immediately saluted him by the title of Monsieur le Maréchal, and proposed that he should reside in France with that rank. But this invitation Eugène declined, because, as a French prince under the fallen government, he had commanded the marshals; and he therefore could not submit to be the last in rank among those illustrious military chiefs.

the police as having been the circulators of Paris news, were shot. An agent of the government publicly announced his design of assassinating one of the French princes, in whose service he was said to have been as a page. He said he would go to his royal highness, and solicit to be appointed one of his aides-de-camp; and, that if the application were refused, as it probably would be, the refusal would only confirm him in his purpose.

At length, when the state of things was beyond the possibility of doubt, Davoust assembled the troops, acquainted them with the dethronement of the emperor, hoisted the white flag, and sent his adhesion to the provisional government. All then thought of their personal safety, without losing sight of their honestly-acquired wealth. Diamonds, and other objects of value and small bulk, were hastily collected and packed up. The governor of Hamburg, Count Hogendorff, who, in spite of some signal instances of opposition, had too often co-operated in severe and vexatious measures, was the first to quit the city. He was, indeed, hurried off by Davoust, because he had mounted the orange cockade, and wished to take his Dutch troops away with him. After consigning the command to General Gerard, Davoust quitted Hamburg, and arrived at Paris on the 18th of June.

I have left Napoleon at Fontainebleau. The period of his departure for Elba was near at hand: it was fixed for the 17th of April. On that day Maubreuil, a man who has become unfortunately celebrated, presented himself at the post-office, and asked to speak with me. He showed me some written orders, signed by General Sacken, the commander of the Russian troops in Paris, and by Baron Brockenhausen, chief of the staff. These orders set forth that Maubreuil was intrusted with an important mission, for the execution of which he was authorized to demand the assistance of the Russian troops; and the commanders of those men were enjoined to place at his disposal as many troops as he might apply for. Maubreuil was also the bearer of similar orders from General Dupont, the war minister, and from M. Anglès, the provisional commissary-general of the police, who directed all the other commissaries to obey the orders they might receive from Maubreuil. On seeing these documents, of the authenticity of which there was no doubt, I immediately ordered the different postmasters to provide Maubreuil promptly with any number of horses he might require. Some days after, I was informed that the object of Maubreuil's mission was to assassinate Napoleon. It may readily be imagined what was my astonishment on hearing this, after I had seen the signature of the commander of the Russian forces, and knowing, as I did, the intentions of the Emperor Alexander. The fact is, I did not, and never can believe, that such was the intention of Maubreuil.

This man has been accused of having carried off the jewels of the Queen of Westphalia.

Napoleon having consented to proceed to the island of Elba, conformably with the treaty he had ratified on the 13th, requested to be accompanied to the place of embarkation by a commissioner from each of the allied powers. Count Schouwaloff was appointed by Russia, Colonel Niel Campbell by England, General Kohler by Austria, and Count Waldburg-Truchess by Prussia. On the 16th, the four commissioners came for the first time to Fontainebleau, where the emperor, who was still attended by Generals Drouot and Bertrand, gave to each a private audience on the following day.

Though Napoleon received with coldness the commissioners whom he had himself solicited, yet that coldness was far from being manifested in an equal degree to all. He who experienced the best reception was Colonel Campbell, apparently because his person exhibited traces of wounds. Napoleon asked him in what battles he had received them, and on what occasions he had been invested with the orders he wore. He next questioned him as to the place of his birth, and Colonel Campbell having answered that he was a Scotchman, Napoleon congratulated him on being the countryman of Ossian, his favourite author, with whose poetry, however, he was only acquainted through the medium of wretched translations.* On this first audience Napoleon said to the colonel, "I have cordially hated the English. I have made war against you by every possible means, but I esteem your nation. I am convinced that there is more generosity in your government than in any other. I should like to be conveyed from Toulon to Elba by an English frigate."†

The Austrian and Russian commissioners were received coolly, but without any marked indications of displeasure. It was not so with the Prussian commissioner, to whom he said drily, "Are there any Prussians in my escort?"—"No, sire."—"Then why do you take the trouble to accompany me?"—"Sire, it is not a trouble, but an honour."—"These are mere words; you have nothing to do here."—"Sire, I could not possibly decline the honourable mission with which the king my master has intrusted me." At these words Napoleon turned his back on Count Truchess.

The commissioners expected that Napoleon would be ready to set out without delay; but they were deceived. He asked for a sight of the itinerary of his route, and wished to make some alterations in it. The commissioners were reluctant to

* The French translations of Ossian may be wretched enough, but as an Italian Bonaparte was probably well acquainted with the magnificent version of the Abate Cesarotti.—*Editor.*

† Colonel Campbell wrote to Lord Castlereagh to acquaint him with Napoleon's wish, to which his lordship acceded.

oppose his wish; for they had been instructed to treat him with all the respect and etiquette due to a sovereign. They therefore suspended the departure; and, as they could not take upon themselves to acquiesce in the changes wished for by the emperor, they applied for fresh orders. On the night of the 19th of April they received these orders, authorizing them to travel by any road the emperor might prefer. The departure was then definitively fixed for the 20th.

Accordingly, at ten on the morning of the 20th, the carriages were in readiness, and the imperial guard was drawn up in the grand court of the palace of Fontainebleau, called the Court of the White Horse. All the population of the town and the neighbouring villages thronged round the palace. Napoleon sent for General Kohler, and said to him, "I have reflected on what I ought to do, and I am determined not to depart. The allies are not faithful to their engagements with me. I can, therefore, revoke my abdication, which was only conditional. More than a thousand addresses were delivered to me last night: I am conjured to resume the reins of government. I renounced my rights to the crown only to avert the horrors of a civil war, having never had any other object in view than the glory and happiness of France. But, seeing as I now do, the dissatisfaction inspired by the measures of the new government, I can explain to my guard the reasons which induced me to revoke my abdication. It is true, that the number of the troops on which I can count will scarcely exceed thirty thousand men; but it will be easy for me to increase their numbers to a hundred and thirty thousand. Know, then, that I can also, without injuring my honour, say to my guard, that having nothing but the repose and happiness of the country at heart, I renounce all my rights, and exhort my troops to follow my example, and yield to the wish of the nation." I heard these words reported by General Kohler himself, after his return from his mission. He did not disguise the embarrassment which this unexpected address had occasioned; and I recollect having remarked at the time, that had Bonaparte, at the commencement of the campaign of Paris, renounced his rights, and returned to the rank of citizen, the immense masses of the allies must have yielded to the efforts of France. General Kohler also stated, that Napoleon complained of Maria Louisa not being allowed to accompany him; but at length, yielding to the reasons urged by those about him, he added, "Well, I prefer remaining faithful to my promise; but, if I have any new ground of complaint, I will free myself from all my engagements."

At eleven o'clock Count de Bussy, one of the emperor's aides-de-camp, was sent by the grand marshal to announce that all was ready for departure. "Am I," said Napoleon, "to regulate my actions by the grand marshal's watch? I will go when I please. Perhaps I may not go at all. Leave me."

All the forms of courtly etiquette which Napoleon loved so much were observed; and when at length he was pleased to leave his cabinet to enter the saloon, where the commissioners were waiting, the doors were thrown open as usual, and the "Emperor" was announced; but no sooner was the word uttered than he turned back again. However, he soon re-appeared, rapidly crossed the gallery, and descended the staircase; and at twelve o'clock precisely he stood at the head of his guard, as if at a review in the court of the Tuileries in the brilliant days of the consulate and the empire. Then took place a really moving scene—Napoleon's farewell to his soldiers. Of this I may abstain from entering into any details,* since they are known every where, and by every body; but I may subjoin the emperor's last address to his old companions in arms, because it belongs to history. This address was pronounced in a voice as firm and sonorous as that in which Bonaparte used to harangue his troops in the days of his triumphs. It was as follows:

"Soldiers of my old guard, I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have constantly accompanied you on the road to honour and glory. In these latter times, as in the days of our prosperity, you have invariably been models of courage and fidelity. With men such as you our cause could not be lost, but the war would have been interminable; it would have been civil war, and that would have entailed deeper misfortunes on France. I have sacrificed all my interests to those of the country. I go; but you, my friends, will continue to serve France. Her happiness was my only thought. It will still be the object of my wishes. Do not regret my fate: if I have consented to survive, it is to serve your glory. I intend to write the history of the great achievements we have performed together. Adieu, my friends. Would I could press you all to my heart!" Napoleon then ordered the eagles to be brought, and having embraced them, he added, "I embrace you all in the person of your general. Adieu, soldiers! Be always gallant and good."

* The mutual attachment that existed between Napoleon and his famed imperial guard, made this parting very painful. Having assembled as many of them as he could, they were drawn out in review order. He rode up to them on horseback, and dismounting in front of their line, he took his last farewell. In doing this he betrayed great emotion; but tears, like rain, poured from the eyes of many of the soldiery who had grown grey under arms. He is reported to have said, "All Europe has armed against me. France herself has deserted me, and chosen other rulers. I might have maintained with you, my brave soldiers, a civil war for years, but that would have made France wretched. Be faithful to the new sovereign whom France has chosen. Do not lament my fate; I shall always be happy while I know you are so. I could have died—nothing was easier—but I will always follow the paths of honour. I will record with my pen the deeds we have done together. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your general." (He pressed the general to his heart.) "Bring hither the eagle." He kissed the standard, and concluded by saying, "Dear eagle, may the kisses I give you long resound in the hearts of the brave. Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Surround me once more. Adieu!"—*Editor.*

Napoleon's parting words to his soldiers were, "Adieu, my friends. My wishes will always accompany you. Do not forget me." He then stepped into his carriage, accompanied by Bertrand.

During the first day, cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" resounded along the road, and Napoleon, resorting to his usual dissimulation, censured the disloyalty of the people to their legitimate sovereign, which he did with ill-disguised irony. The guard accompanied him as far as Briare. At that place Napoleon invited Colonel Campbell to breakfast with him. He conversed on the last war in Spain, and spoke in complimentary terms of the English nation and the military talents of Wellington. Yet by that time he must have heard of the battle of Toulouse.

On the night of the 21st Napoleon slept at Nevers, where he was received by the acclamations of the people, who here, as in several other towns, mingled their cries in favour of their late sovereign, with imprecations against the commissioners of the allies. He left Nevers at six, on the morning of the 22d. Napoleon was now no longer escorted by the guards, who were succeeded by a corps of Cossacks: the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" accordingly ceased, and he had the mortification to hear in its stead, "Vivent les Alliés!" However, I have been informed, that at Lyons, through which the emperor passed on the 23d, at eleven at night, the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" was still echoed among the groups who assembled before the post-office during the change of horses.

Augereau, who was still a republican, though he accepted the title of Duke de Castiglione from Napoleon, had always been among the discontented. On the downfal of the emperor, he was one of that considerable number of persons who turned royalists not out of love for the Bourbons, but out of hatred to Bonaparte. He held a command in the south when he heard of the forfeiture of Napoleon pronounced by the senate, and he was one of the first to send his recognition to the provisional government. Augereau, who, like all uneducated men, went to extremes in every thing, had published under his name a proclamation extravagantly violent, and even insulting to the emperor. Whether Napoleon was aware of this proclamation I cannot pretend to say, but he affected ignorance of the matter if he was informed of it; for on the 24th, having met Augereau at a little distance from Valence, he stopped his carriage, and immediately alighted. Augereau did the same, and they cordially embraced in the presence of the commmissioners. It was remarked, that in saluting, Napoleon took off his hat and Augereau kept on his. "Where are you going?" said the emperor; "to court?"—"No; I am going to Lyons."—"You have behaved very badly to me." Augereau, finding that the emperor addressed him in the second person singular, adopted the same familiarity, so they conversed as they were accustomed to do when they were

THE DEPARTURE FROM FONTAINEBLEAU.

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both generals in Italy. "Of what do you complain?" said he. "Has not your insatiable ambition brought us to this? Have you not sacrificed every thing to that ambition, even the happiness of France? I care no more for the Bourbons than for you. All I care for is the country." Upon this Napoleon turned sharply away from the marshal, lifted his hat to him, and then stepped into his carriage. The commissioners, and all the persons in Napoleon's suite, were indignant at seeing Augereau stand in the road still covered, with his hands behind his back, and instead of bowing, merely making a disdainful salutation to Napoleon with his hand.

At Valence, Napoleon, for the first time, saw French soldiers with the white cockade in their caps. They belonged to Augereau's corps. At Orange the air resounded with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Here the gaiety, real or feigned, which Napoleon had hitherto evinced, began to forsake him.

Had the emperor arrived at Avignon three hours later than he did, there is no doubt that he would have been massacred. He did not change horses at Avignon, through which he passed at five in the morning, but at Saint Andiol, where he arrived at six. The emperor, who was fatigued with sitting in the carriage, alighted with Colonel Campbell and General Bertrand, and walked with them up the first hill. His valet-de-chambre, who was also walking a little distance in advance, met one of the post-office couriers, who said to him, "Those are the emperor's carriages coming this way?"—"No; they are the equipages of the allies."—"I say they are the emperor's carriages. I am an old soldier. I served in the campaign of Egypt, and I will save the life of my general."—"I tell you again they are not the emperor's carriages."—"Do not attempt to deceive me: I have just passed through Orgon, where the emperor has been hanged in effigy. The wretches erected a scaffold, and hanged a figure dressed in a French uniform, covered with blood. Perhaps I may get myself into a scrape by this confidence; but no matter. Do you profit by it." The courier then set off at full gallop. The valet-de-chambre took General Drouot apart, and told him what he had heard. Drouot communicated the circumstance to General Bertrand, who himself related it to the emperor, in the presence of the commissioners. The latter, justly indignant, held a sort of council on the highway, and it was determined that the emperor should go forward without his retinue. The valet-de-chambre was asked whether he had any clothes in the carriage. He produced a long blue cloak and a round hat. It was proposed to put a white cockade in the hat, but to this Napoleon would not consent. He went forward in the style of a courier, with Amaudru, one of the two outriders who had escorted his carriage, and brushed through Orgon. When the allied commissioners arrived there, the assembled population were uttering exclamations of "Down with the Corsican! Down

with the brigand!" The mayor of Orgon, the same man whom I had seen almost on his knees to General Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, addressed himself to Pelard, the emperor's valet-de-chambre, and said, "Do you follow that rascal?"—"No," replied Pelard, "I am attached to the commissioners of the allied powers."—"Ah! that is well! I should like to hang the villain with my own hands. Ah! if you knew, sir, how the scoundrel has deceived us! It was I who received him on his return from Egypt. We wished to take his horses out, and draw his carriage. I should like to avenge myself now for the honours I rendered him at that time."

The crowd augmented, and continued to vociferate with a degree of fury which may be imagined by those who have heard the inhabitants of the south manifest, by cries, their joy or their hatred. Some more violent than the rest, wished to force Napoleon's coachman to cry "Vive le Roi!" He courageously refused, though threatened with the stroke of a sabre; when, fortunately, the carriage being ready to start, he whipped the horses, and set off at full gallop. The commissioners would not breakfast at Orgon; they paid for what had been prepared, and took some refreshments away with them. The carriages did not overtake the emperor until they came to La Calade, where he had arrived a quarter of an hour before with Amaudru. They found him standing by the fire in the kitchen of the inn, talking with the landlady. She had asked him whether the tyrant was soon to pass that way? "Ah! sir," said she, "it is all nonsense to say we have got rid of him. I always have said, and always will say, that we shall never be sure of being done with him until he be laid at the bottom of a well, covered over with stones. I wish we had him safe in the well in our yard. You see, sir, the Directory sent him to Egypt to get rid of him; but he came back again! And he will come back again, you may be sure of that, sir, unless". . . . Here the good women, having finished skimming her pot, looked up, and perceived that all the party were standing uncovered except the individual to whom she had been speaking. She was confounded; and the embarrassment she experienced at having spoken so ill of the emperor to the emperor himself, banished all her anger, and she lavished every mark of attention and respect on Napoleon and his retinue. A messenger was immediately sent to Aix to purchase ribbons for making white cockades. All the carriages were brought into the courtyard of the inn, and the gate was closed; the landlady informed Napoleon that it would not be prudent for him to venture on passing through Aix, where a population of more than twenty thousand were waiting to stone him.

Meanwhile dinner was served, and Napoleon sat down to table. He admirably disguised the agitation which he could not fail to experience, and I have been assured by some of the

individuals who were present on that remarkable occasion, that he never made himself more agreeable. His conversation, which was enriched by the resources of his memory and his imagination, charmed every one, and he remarked, with an air of indifference which was, perhaps, affected, "I believe the new French government has a design on my life."

The commissioners, informed of what was going on at Aix, proposed sending to the mayor an order for closing the gates, and adopting measures for securing the public tranquillity. About fifty individuals had assembled round the inn, and one among them offered to carry a letter to the mayor of Aix. The commissioners accepted his services, and in their letter informed the mayor that if the gates of the town were not closed within an hour, they would advance with two regiments of hulans, and six pieces of artillery, and would fire upon all who might oppose them. This threat had the desired effect; and the mayor returned for answer, that the gates should be closed, and that he would take upon himself the responsibility of every thing which might happen.

The danger which threatened the emperor at Aix was thus averted; but there was another to be braved. During the seven or eight hours he passed at La Calade, a considerable number of people had gathered round the inn, and manifested every disposition to proceed to some excess. Most of them had in their hands five-franc pieces, in order to recognise the emperor by his likeness on the coin. Napoleon, who had passed two nights without sleep, was in a little room adjoining the kitchen, where he had fallen into a slumber, reclining on the shoulder of his valet-de-chambre. In a moment of dejection he had said, "I now renounce the political world for ever. I shall henceforth feel no interest about any thing that may happen. At Porto-Ferrajo I may be happy—more happy than I have ever been! No!—if the crown of Europe were now offered to me, I would not accept it. I will devote myself to science. I was right never to esteem mankind! But France and the French people—what ingratitude! I am disgusted with ambition, and I wish to rule no longer!"

When the moment for departure arrived, it was proposed that he should put on the great-coat and fur cap of General Kohler, and that he should go into the carriage of the Austrian commissioner. The emperor thus disguised, left the inn of La Calade, passing between two lines of spectators. On turning the walls of Aix, Napoleon had again the mortification to hear the cries of "Down with the tyrant! Down with Nicolas!" and these vociferations resounded at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town.

Bonaparte, dispirited by these manifestations of hatred, said, in a tone of mingled grief and contempt, "These Provençals are the same furious brawlers that they used to be. They com-

mitted frightful massacres at the commencement of the revolution. Eighteen years ago I came to this part of the country with some thousand men to deliver two royalists, who were to be hanged. Their crime was, having worn the white cockade. I saved them; but it was not without difficulty that I rescued them from the hands of their assailants; and now, you see, they resume the same excesses against those who refuse to wear the white cockade." At about a league from Aix, the emperor and his retinue found horses and an escort of gendarmerie to conduct them to the castle of Luc.

The Princess Pauline was at the country residence of M. Charles, member of the legislative body, near the castle of Luc. On hearing of the misfortunes of her brother, she determined to accompany him to the isle of Elba, and she proceeded to Frejus to embark with him. At Frejus the emperor rejoined Colonel Campbell, who had quitted the convoy on the road, and had brought into the port the English frigate, the Indomitable, which was appointed to convey the emperor to the place of his destination. In spite of the wish he had expressed to Colonel Campbell, he manifested considerable reluctance to go on board. However, on the 28th of April, he sailed for the island of Elba, in the English frigate, in which it could not then be said that Cæsar and his fortune were embarked.

NOTES ON THE JOURNEY TO ELBA, AND NAPOLEON'S RESIDENCE THERE.

Some time after the events above recorded, Count Truchess, the Prussian commissioner, published a curious account of the journey. His book gave great offence to the Bonapartists, because it represented the great Napoleon as being susceptible of fear. "He was incapable of a sentiment so base," cry they; "look at him on the field of battle from first to last. Did he ever betray fear there?" Certainly not! but the man who can brave an honourable death in battle may, and without any shame, tremble at assassination—at the idea of being torn to pieces by an infuriated populace. Bonaparte, who had an especial dread of popular violence, had trembled at it before now when he was almost left naked and undefended to meet its attacks.

As a Prussian, Count Truchess may be supposed to have had no prejudices in favour of the fallen emperor, but as a man of honour and rank, he was certainly not likely to invent facts which could have been contradicted by General Kohler, the Austrian commissioner, by Colonel Niel Campbell, and other honourable men.

DRAWN BY MALCOLM FRASER. FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH.

NAPOLEON'S VILLA AT PORTO FERRAJO.

In 1816, not quite two years after the journey, we knew General Kohler at Naples, where we have heard him give precisely the same account of it, and of the conduct of Napoleon, as Count Truchess has done in print. We were again in the habit of occasionally meeting General Kohler in the South of Italy, between the years 1821 and 1825, when he died at Naples, and as the interesting subject of the journey to Elba was frequently alluded to, we had ample opportunities of making ourselves acquainted with the general's sentiments. Whatever may have been the faults of General Kohler in other respects, he certainly was not a man to calumniate a fallen enemy. We trust these few words will justify our using Count Truchess's account of the journey as authentic and official matter.

While perusing the following anecdotes, the reader must remember that Napoleon was already in the south of France; for the count agrees with Bourrienne in stating, that during the earlier stages of the journey Napoleon was treated with the respect due to misfortune.

"Whenever we appeared, we still found people who saluted their former ruler with 'Vive le Roi!' and some terms of abuse against himself; but nothing like violence was attempted. Still, however, he was constantly in alarm. He not only remained in General Kohler's *calèche*, but even begged he would allow the servant who sat before him to smoke, and asked the general himself if he could sing; in order that he might dissipate, through such familiar conduct, any suspicion in the places where we stopped, that the emperor sat with him in the carriage. As the general could not sing, Napoleon begged him to whistle; and with this singular music we made our entry into every place; whilst the emperor, fumigated with the incense of the tobacco-pipe, squeezed himself into the corner of the *calèche*, and pretended to be fast asleep."

In the latter part of his journey, the indignation of the people began to be more and more pronounced against him:

"Close to Avignon, where the relays of horses awaited us, the emperor found a crowd assembled, who with tumultuous cries saluted him with 'Vive le Roi! Vivent les Alliés! A bas Nicolas! A bas le Tyran, le Coquin, le mauvais Gueux!' and still coarser abuse. In compliance with our instructions, we did every thing in our power to lighten the evil, but could only partially effect it; and Napoleon endured with the greatest patience every term of abuse uttered against him. In Orgon, the next place where we changed horses, the conduct of the populace was most outrageous. Exactly on the spot where the horses were taken out, a gallows was erected, on which a figure, in French uniform, sprinkled with blood, was suspended. On its breast it bore a paper, with this inscription:

'Tel sera tôt ou tard le sort du tyran!'

"The rabble pressed round his carriage, and elevated themselves on both sides in order to look and cast in their abuse. The emperor pressed into a corner, looked pale and disfigured, and at length, through our assistance, he was happily brought off, and had proceeded a quarter of a league from Orgon. He changed his dress in his carriage, put on a plain blue great-coat and a round hat with a white cockade, mounted a post-horse, and rode on before as a courier.

"Having overtaken the emperor's carriage about half a league on the other side of Orgon, it shortly afterwards entered a miserable public-house, on the road-side, called La Calade. We followed it, and here first learnt of the disguise of Bonaparte, who in this attire had arrived here accompanied by one courier only. His suite, from the generals to the scullions, were decorated with white cockades. His valet-de-chambre, who came to meet us, begged we would conduct ourselves towards the emperor as if he were Colonel Campbell, for whom on his arrival he had given himself out. We entered, and found in a kind of chamber this former ruler of the world, buried in thought, sitting with his head supported by his hand. I did not immediately recognise him, and walked towards him. He started up as he heard somebody approaching, and pointed to his countenance bedewed with tears. Here we dined; but as the dinner had not been prepared by his own cooks, he had not courage to partake of it, for fear of being poisoned. He felt ashamed, however, at seeing us all eat both with good appetites and good consciences, and therefore helped himself from every dish, but without swallowing the least morsel: he spate every thing out upon his plate or behind his chair. A little bread and a bottle of wine taken from his carriage, and which he divided with us, constituted his whole repast. In other respects he was conversable and very friendly towards us. Whenever the landlady, who waited upon us at table, left the room, and he perceived we were alone, he repeated to us his apprehensions for his life, and assured us the French government had indisputably determined to destroy or arrest him here. A thousand plans ran through his brain how he might escape, and what arrangements ought to be made to deceive the people of Aix, who he had learnt awaited him by thousands at the post-house; and now again with all his apprehensions and indecision, he renewed his solicitations of counsel. He even begged us to look around and see if we could not any where discover a private door through which he might slip out, or if the window, whose shutters upon entering he had half closed at the bottom, was too high for him to jump out in case of need. On examination, I found the window on the outside was provided with an iron trellis-work, and threw him into evident consternation as I communicated to him the discovery. At the least noise he started up in terror and changed colour. After dinner we left him alone, and as we went in and out found him

"IT IS HE!"

frequently weeping. For greater precaution another disguise was now assumed. General Schuwaloff's adjutant was obliged to put on the blue great-coat and round hat in which the emperor had reached the inn, that in case of necessity he might be regarded, insulted, or even murdered for him.

"Napoleon, who now pretended to be an Austrian colonel, dressed himself in the uniform of General Kohler, with the order of Theresa, wore my camp cap, and threw over his shoulders General Schuwaloff's mantle. After the allies had thus equipped him, the carriages drove up, and we were obliged to march to them through the other rooms of the inn in a certain order, which had been previously rehearsed in our own chamber."

The account of the interview between Bonaparte and Marshal Augereau, given by Count Truchess, differs slightly from that recorded by Bourrienne.

In a small barrack near Valence, Napoleon, upon the 24th of April, met Augereau, his old companion in the campaigns of Italy, and in some degree his tutor in the art of war. The marshal had resented some of the reflections which occurred in the bulletins, censuring his operations for the protection of Lyons. When, therefore, he issued a proclamation to his army, on the recent change, he announced Napoleon as one who had brought on his own ruin, and yet dared not die. An angry interview took place, and the following words are said to have been exchanged between them: "I have thy proclamation," said Napoleon. "Thou hast betrayed me."—"Sire," replied the marshal, "it is you who have betrayed France and the army, by sacrificing both to a frantic spirit of ambition."—"Thou hast chosen thyself a new master," said Napoleon.—"I have no account to render to you on that score," replied the general. "Thou hast no courage," replied Bonaparte.—"'Tis thou hast none," replied the general; and turned his back without any mark of respect, on his late master.

At a country-house called Bouillidou, he had an interview with his sister Pauline. The curiosity of the lady of the house, and two or three females, made them also find their way to his presence. They saw a gentleman in an Austrian uniform. "Whom do you wish to see, ladies?"—"The Emperor Napoleon."—"I am Napoleon."—"You jest, sir," replied the ladies. "What, I suppose you expected to see me look more mischievous? Oh, yes—confess that, since fortune is adverse to me, I must look like a rascal, a miscreant, a brigand. But do you know how all this has happened? Merely because I wished to place France above England."

At length he arrived at Frejus, the very port that received him on his return from Egypt fourteen years before. He shut himself up in a solitary apartment, which he traversed with impatient and hasty steps, sometimes pausing to watch from the window the arrival of the vessels, one of which was to transport

him from France, as it then seemed, for ever. The French frigate, the Dryade, and a brig called the Inconstant, had come from Toulon to Frejus, and lay ready to perform this duty. But, reluctant perhaps to sail under the Bourbon flag, Napoleon preferred embarking on board his Britannic Majesty's ship the Undaunted, commanded by Captain Usher. This vessel being placed at the disposal of the British commissioner, Sir Niel Campbell, he readily acquiesced in Napoleon's wish to take his passage in her to Elba. It was eleven at night on the 28th before he embarked, under a salute of twenty-one guns. "Adieu, Cæsar, and his fortune!" cried Schuwaloff, the Russian envoy. The Austrian and British commissioners accompanied him on his voyage; the Russian and Prussian agents returned to Paris. One of the officers of the frigate's barge that took Bonaparte on board happened to be a nephew of Sir Sydney Smith. When this was mentioned, Napoleon said, without any embarrassment, "Sydney Smith! Ah, that's the man I encountered in Egypt."

During the passage, Bonaparte seemed to recover his spirits, and conversed with great frankness and ease with Captain Usher and Sir Niel Campbell. The subject chiefly led to high-coloured statements of the schemes which he had been compelled to leave unexecuted, with severe strictures on his enemies, and much contempt for their means of opposition. The following particulars are amusing, and so far as we know, have never appeared:

He was inquisitive about the discipline of the vessel, which he commended highly, but assured Captain Usher, that had his power lasted for five years longer, he would have had three hundred sail of the line. Captain Usher naturally asked how they were to be manned. Napoleon replied, that he had resolved on a naval conscription in all the seaports and sea-coast frontier of France, which would man his fleet, which was to be exercised in the Zuyder Zee, until fit for going to the open sea. The British officer scarcely suppressed a smile as he replied, that the marine conscript would make a sorry figure in a gale of wind.

To the Austrian envoy, Napoleon's constant subject was the enlarged power of Russia, which, if she could by any means unite Poland into a healthful and integral part of her army, would, he stated, overwhelm Europe.

He made a favourable impression on all the British officers that approached him. The common men too, who had expected to meet with the impersonation of the arch-fiend in Napoleon, were greatly surprised by the exhibition of so much kindness of manner.

When Captain Usher received Napoleon on board the "Undaunted," as we have already said, he fired a royal salute, and manned yards. For this he was much censured by a certain political party at home, who were over niggard of all marks of respect to the fallen conqueror. But, on his retirement into

Elba, Napoleon was still a sovereign, though his territories, to be sure, were not very extensive. The allied sovereigns, in their treaty with him, had acknowledged and guaranteed to him and to his family their old dignities and titles, and in *etiquette* Captain Usher was perfectly right.

On one occasion he talked at great length about the peace of Amiens, and the other diplomatic relations he had had with England. He insisted that the English, availing themselves of their own strength and the weakness of the restored Bourbons, would pursue selfish measures, and exact a commercial treaty from Louis XVIII. exceedingly disadvantageous to France. "Now," he continued, "England has no opponent which can resist her system. She can pursue it without limits. There will be a treaty on very unequal terms, which will not afford due encouragement to the manufactures of France. The Bourbons are poor devils"—he checked himself—"I mean to say they are *grand seigneurs*, very glad to get back to their estates and draw their rents; but, if the French people see that, and become discontented, *the Bourbons will be turned off in six months!*"

He spoke disparagingly of the soldiers and of most of the generals of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; but he paid a high compliment to the energy and activity of Blucher. "That old devil," he said, "gave me most trouble—he was always ready to fight again. If I beat in the evening, there he was next morning; if I routed him in the morning, he rallied and fought again before night."

One rough old tar in Captain Usher's vessel, Joe Hinton, the boatswain, alone escaped the fascination of Napoleon's manner; and whenever he heard any of his shipmates praising Napoleon, he muttered "*Humbug.*" But though Hinton thought it his bounden duty as an Englishman to hate Napoleon, he had no dislike to the little Napoleons—in gold, and a present evidently mollified his heart. Before leaving the Undaunted, the emperor gave two hundred Napoleons to be distributed among the ship's company: for this present, Hinton, in the name of the crew, had to return thanks, and he did so in these words: "Wish your honour good health, and better luck next time!"

It was on the 4th of May, 1814, that Bonaparte arrived within sight of Porto-Ferrajo, the humble capital of his miniature empire; but he did not land till the morning. At first he paid a short visit incognito, being accompanied by a sergeant's party of marines from the Undaunted. He then returned on board to breakfast, and at about two o'clock made his public entrance, the Undaunted firing a royal salute.

In every particular of his conduct he paid great attention to the maintenance of his imperial dignity. On landing, he received the keys of his good city of Porto-Ferrajo, and the devoirs of the governor, prefect, and other dignitaries, and he

proceeded immediately under a canopy of state to the parish church, which served as a cathedral. There he heard Te Deum, and it is stated that his countenance was dark and melancholy, and that he even shed tears.*

One of Bonaparte's first cares was to select a flag for the Elbese empire, and after some hesitation he fixed on "Argent, on a bend gules, three bees or," as the armorial ensign of his new dominion. It is strange that neither he nor any of those whom he consulted should have been aware that Elba had an ancient and peculiar ensign, and it is still more remarkable that this ensign should be one singularly adapted to Bonaparte's situation; being no more than "a wheel,—the emblem," says M. Bernaud, "of the vicissitudes of human life, which the Elbese had borrowed from the Egyptian mysteries."†

This is as curious a coincidence as any we ever recollect to have met, as the medals of Elba with the emblem of the wheel are well known, we cannot but suppose that Bonaparte was aware of the circumstance. Yet he is represented as having in vain made several anxious inquiries after the ancient arms of the island. During the first months of his residence there, his life was, in general, one of characteristic activity and garrulous frankness. He gave dinners, went to balls, rode all day about his island, planned fortifications, aqueducts, lazarettos, harbours and palaces; and the very second day after he landed, fitted out an expedition of a dozen soldiers to take possession of a little uninhabited island, called Pianosa, which lies a few leagues from Elba; on this occasion he said, goodhumouredly, "*Toute l'Europe dira que j'ai déjà fait une conquête.*" (All Europe will say I have already made a conquest.) The cause of the island of Pianosa's being left uninhabited, was the marauding of the Corsairs from the coast of Barbary, against whom Bonaparte considered himself fully protected by the 4th Article of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

The greatest wealth of Elba consists in its iron mines, for which the island was celebrated in the days of the Romans. Virgil has a fine line descriptive of its inexhaustible ore. Soon after his arrival Napoleon visited the mines, in company with Colonel Niel Campbell, and being informed that they produced annually about 500,000 francs, he exclaimed, joyfully, "These, then, are my own!" One of his followers, however, reminded him that he had long since disposed of that revenue, having given it to his order of the Legion of Honour, to furnish pensions, &c. "Where was my head when I made that grant," said he, "but I have made many foolish decrees of that sort!"

Sir Walter Scott, in telling a curious fact, makes a very curious mistake. "To dignify his capital," he says, "having

* Itinéraire de Bonaparte, &c. Paris, 1814.

† Voyage à l'Ile d'Elbe, par A. F. de Bernaud. Paris, 1808.

discovered that the ancient name of Porto-Ferrajo was Comopoli (the city of Como), he commanded it to be called Cosmopoli, or the city of all nations." Now the old name of Porto-Ferrajo was in reality not Comopoli, but Cosmopoli, and it obtained that name from the Florentine Cosmo de' Medici, to whose Ducal house Elba belonged, as an integral part of Tuscany. The name equally signified the city of Cosmo, or the city of all nations, and the vanity of the Medici had probably been flattered by the double meaning of the appellation. But Bonaparte certainly revived the old name, and did not add a letter to it to dignify his little capital.

The household of Napoleon, though reduced to thirty-five persons, still represented an imperial court. The forms and etiquette of the Tuileries and Saint-Cloud, were retained on a diminished scale; but the furniture and internal accommodations of the palace are represented as having been meaner by far than those of an English gentleman of ordinary rank. The body guard of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Elba consisted of about 700 infantry, and 80 cavalry, and to this handful of troops Napoleon seemed to pay almost as much attention as he had formerly given to his Grande Armée. The men were constantly exercised, particularly in throwing shot and shells—and he soon began to look out for good recruits.

He early announced that he would hold a court, and receive ladies twice a week; the first was on the 7th of May, and a great concourse assembled. Bonaparte at first paid great attention to the women, particularly those who possessed personal attractions, and asked them, in his rapid way, whether they were married? How many children they had and who their husbands were? To the last question he received one universal answer; it happened that every lady was married to a *merchant*, but when it came to be further explained, that they were merchant butchers, and merchant bakers, his imperial majesty permitted some expression of his dissatisfaction to escape him, and hastily retired. On the 4th of June there was a ball on board the British frigate, in honour of the king's birthday; the whole beauty and fashion of Elba were assembled, and dancing with great glee, when, about midnight, Bonaparte came in his barge, unexpectedly, and masked, to join the festivity. He was very affable, and visited every part of the ship, and all the amusements which had been prepared for the different classes of persons. On his birthday, the 15th of August, he ordered the mayor to give a ball, and for this purpose a temporary building, capable of holding 300 persons, was to be erected, and the whole entertainment, building and all, were to be at the expense of the inhabitants themselves. These were bad auspices, and accordingly the ball completely failed. Madame Mère, Madame Bertrand, and the two ladies of honour attended, but not above thirty of the fair islanders, and as the author of the Itinéraire remarks,

Le bal fut triste quoique Bonaparte n'y parut pas. (The ball was dull though Bonaparte did not appear.)

Having in an excursion reached the summit of one of the highest hills on the island, where the sea was visible all round him, he shook his head with affected solemnity, and exclaimed in a bantering tone, *Eh! il faut avouer que mon île est bien petite.* (Ah! It must be confessed my island is very small.)

On this mountain one of the party saw a little church in an almost inaccessible situation, and observed, that it was a most inconvenient site for a church, for surely no congregation could attend it. "It is on that account the more convenient to the parson," replied Bonaparte, "who may preach what stuff he pleases, without fear of contradiction."

As they descended the hill and met some peasants, with their goats, who asked for charity, Bonaparte told a story, which the present circumstances brought to his recollection, that when he was crossing the Great St. Bernard, previously to the battle of Marengo, he had met a goatherd, and entered into conversation with him. The goatherd, not knowing to whom he was speaking, lamented his own hard lot, and envied the riches of some persons who actually had cows and corn-fields. Bonaparte inquired if some fairy were to offer to gratify all his wishes, what he would ask? The poor peasant expressed, in his own opinion, some very extravagant desires; such as a dozen of cows, and a good farm-house. Bonaparte afterwards recollected the incident, and astonished the goatherd by the fulfilment of all his wishes. But all his thoughts and conversations were not as light and pleasant as these. Sometimes he would involve himself in an account of the last campaign—of his own views and hopes—of the defection of his marshals—of the capture of Paris, and finally of his abdication; on those he would talk by the hour, with great earnestness and almost fury, exhibiting in very rapid succession, traits of eloquence, of military genius, of indignation, of vanity, and of selfishness. With regard to the audience to whom he addressed these tirades, he was not very particular.

Hardly any one who approached during the fit, was excluded from the imperial confidence; and accordingly we have heard many reports of them.

The chief violence of his rage seemed to be directed against Marshal Marmont, whom, as well as Augereau, he sometimes called by names too gross for repetition, and charged roundly with treachery. Marmont's conduct, under the difficult circumstances in which he commanded the troops engaged in the defence of Paris, was a masterpiece of courage, discretion, and generosity. He fought while he could; and when he could no longer defend Paris by arms, he saved it by a most honourable capitulation; he preserved his army for the service of his country, and, when every thing else was lost, stipulated for the

safety of Bonaparte. This last stipulation, Bonaparte affected to treat with contempt and indignation; but we must not forget that after his abdication, he took especial care of his person.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1814.

Changes produced by time—Correspondence between the provisional government and Hartwell—Louis XVIII.'s reception in London—His arrival at Calais—Berthier's address to the king at Compiègne—My presentation to his majesty at Saint-Ouen—Louis XVIII.'s entry into Paris—Unexpected dismissal from my post—M. de Talleyrand's departure for the congress of Vienna—Signs of a commotion—Impossibility of seeing M. de Blacas—The Abbé Fleuriel—Unanswered letters—My letter to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna.

No power is so great as that resulting from the changes produced by time. Wise policy consists in directing that power; but to do so it is requisite to know the wants of the age. For this reason Louis XVIII. appeared, in the eyes of all sensible persons, a monarch expressly formed for the circumstances in which we stood after the fall of Napoleon.

In the winter of 1813-14, some royalist proclamations had been circulated in Paris; and as they contained the germs of those hopes which the charter, had it been executed, was calculated to realize, the police opposed their circulation, and I recollect that in order to multiply the number of copies, my family and I daily devoted some hours to transcribing them. After the definitive declaration of Alexander, a very active correspondence ensued between the provisional government and Hartwell; and Louis XVIII. was even preparing to embark for Bordeaux when he learned the events of the 31st of March. That news induced the king to alter his determination, and he soon quitted his retirement to proceed to London.* Louis XVIII. and the Prince Regent of England exchanged the orders of the Holy Ghost and the Garter, and I believe I may affirm that this was the first occasion on which any but a Catholic prince was invested with the order of the Holy Ghost.

Louis XVIII. embarked at Dover on board the Royal Sovereign, and landed at Calais on the 24th of April. I need not

* The entrance of Louis XVIII. into London was a triumphal one. The waving of white handkerchiefs, the display of white cockades, were prodigious. We never saw such an exhibition of linen, muslin, and silks—all Bourbonically white.—*Editor.*

enter into any description of the enthusiasm which his presence excited; that is generally known through the reports of the journals of the time. It is very certain that all rational persons saw with satisfaction the princes of the house of Bourbon re-ascend the throne of their ancestors, enlightened by experience and misfortune, which, as some ancient philosopher observes, are the best counsellors of kings.

I had received a letter addressed to me from London by the Duke de Duras, pointing out the route which Louis XVIII. was to pursue from Calais to Paris. The king's wishes on this subject were scrupulously fulfilled, and I recollect with pleasure the zeal with which my directions were executed by all the persons in the service of the post-office. His majesty stopped for a short time at Amiens, aad then proceeded to Compiègne, where the ministers and marshals had previously arrived to present to him their homage and the assurance of their fidelity. Berthier addressed the king in the name of the marshals, and said, among other things, "that France, groaning for five-and-twenty years under the weight of the misfortunes that oppressed her, had anxiously looked forward to the happy day which she now saw dawning." Berthier might justly have said for "ten years;" but at all events, even had he spoken the truth, it was ill placed in the mouth of a man whom the emperor had constantly loaded with favours. The Emperor Alexander also went to Compiègne to meet Louis XVIII., and the two monarchs dined together.

I did not go to Compiègne because the business which I had constantly to execute did not permit me to leave Paris for so long an interval as that journey would have required; but I was at Saint-Ouen when Louis XVIII. arrived on the 2d of May. There I had to congratulate myself on being remembered by a man to whom I was fortunate enough to render some service at Hamburg. As the king entered the saloon through which he had to pass to go to the dining-room, M. Hue recognising me, said to his majesty, "There is M. de Bourrienne." The king then, stepping up to me, said, "Ah! M. de Bourrienne, I am very glad to see you. I am aware of the services you have rendered me in Hamburg and Paris, and I shall feel much pleasure in testifying my gratitude."

At Saint-Ouen, Louis XVIII. promulgated the declaration which preceded the charter, and which repeated the sentiments expressed by the king twenty years before, in the declaration of Colmar. It was also at Saint-Ouen that a project of a constitution was presented to him by the senate, in which that body, to justify *in extremis* its title of conservative, stipulated for the preservation of its revenues and endowments. On the 3d of May Louis XVIII. made his solemn entrance into Paris, the Duchess d'Angoulême being in the carriage with the king. His majesty proceeded first to Notre Dame. On arriving at

the Pont Neuf, he saw the model of the statue of Henry IV., on the pedestal of which appeared the following words: *Ludovico reduce, Henricus redivivus,* which were suggested by M. de Lally-Tollendal, and were greatly preferable to the long and prolix inscription composed for the bronze statue.

The king's entrance into Paris did not excite so much enthusiasm as the entrance of Monsieur. In the places through which I passed on the 3d of May, astonishment seemed to be the prevailing feeling among the people. The abatement of public enthusiasm was more perceptible a short time after, when Louis XVIII. restored the red corps which Louis XVI. had suppressed long before the revolution.

It was not a little extraordinary to see the direction of the government consigned to a man who neither had, nor could have any knowledge of France. From the commencement, M. de Blacas affected ministerial omnipotence. When I went on the 11th of May to the Tuileries to present, as usual, my portfolio to the king, in virtue of my privilege of transacting business with the sovereign, M. de Blacas wished to take the portfolio from me, which appeared to me the more surprising as, during the seven days I had the honour of coming in contact with Louis XVIII., his majesty had been pleased to bestow many compliments upon me. I at first refused to give up the portfolio; but M. de Blacas told me the king had ordered him to receive it; I then, of course, yielded the point. However, it was not long before I had experience of a courtier's revenge; for two days after this circumstance, that is to say, on the 13th of May, on entering my cabinet at the usual hour, I mechanically took up the Moniteur, which I found lying on my desk. On glancing hastily over it, what was my astonishment to find that the Count de Ferrand had been appointed director of the post-office in my stead. Such was the strange mode in which M. de Blacas made me feel the promised gratitude of the sovereign. Certainly, after my proofs of loyalty which, a year afterwards, procured for me the honour of being outlawed in quite a privileged way, I had reason to complain, and I might have said *Sic vos non vobis* as justly as Virgil, when he alluded to the unmerited favours lavished by Augustus on the Mævii and Bavii of his time.

The measures of government soon excited complaints in every quarter. The usages of the old system were gradually restored, and ridicule being mingled with more serious considerations, Paris was speedily inundated with caricatures and pamphlets.* However, tranquillity prevailed until the month of September, when M. de Talleyrand departed for the congress of Vienna. Then all was disorder at the Tuileries. Every one feeling him-

* A little political journal called the "Nain Jaune," or "Yellow Dwarf," exercised much influence at this period.—*Editor.*

self free from restraint, wished to play the statesman, and Heaven knows how many follies were committed in the absence of the schoolmaster.

Under a feeble government, there is but one step from discontent to insurrection: under an imbecile government like that of France in 1814, after the departure of M. de Talleyrand, conspiracy has free scope. During the summer of 1814 were prepared the events which reached their climax on the 20th of March, 1815. I almost fancy I am dreaming, when I look back on the miraculous incapacity of the persons who were then at the head of our government. The emigrants, who, as it has been truly said had neither learned nor forgotten any thing, came back with all the absurd pretensions of Coblentz. Their silly vanity reminded one of a character in one of Voltaire's novels, who is continually saying, "*Un homme comme moi!*" These people were so engrossed with their pretended merit, that they were blind to every thing else. They not only disregarded the wishes and the wants of France, which, in overthrowing the empire, hoped to regain liberty, but they disregarded every warning they had received. I recollect one circumstance which was well calculated to excite suspicion. Prince Eugène proposed going to the waters of Plombières to join his sister Hortense. The horses, the carriages, and one of the prince's aides-de-camp had already arrived at Plombières, and his residence was prepared; but he did not go. Eugène had, no doubt, received intimation of his sister's intrigues with some of the individuals of the late court of Napoleon, who were then at the waters; and as he had determined to reside quietly at the court of his father-in-law, without meddling with public affairs, he remained at Munich. This fact, however, passed off unnoticed.

At the end of 1814, unequivocal indications of a great catastrophe was observable. About that time a man, whom I much esteem, and with whom I have always been on terms of friendship, said to me, "You see how things are going on: they are committing fault upon fault. You must be convinced that such a state of things cannot last long. Between ourselves, I am of opinion that all will be over in the month of March: that month will repair the disgrace of last March. We shall then, once for all, be delivered from fanaticism and the emigrants. You see the intolerable spirit of hypocrisy that prevails, and you know that the influence of the priests is, of all things, the most hateful to the nation. We have gone back a long way within the last eight months. I fear you will repent of having taken too active a part in affairs at the commencement of the present year. You see we have gone a very different way from what you expected. However, as I have often told you before, you had good reason to complain; and, after all, you acted to the best of your judgment."

I did not attach much importance to this prediction of a change in the month of March. I deplored, as every one did, the inconceivable errors of Ferrand and company,* and I hoped that the government would gradually return to those principles which were calculated to conciliate the feelings of the people. A few days after, another of my friends called on me. He had exercised important functions, and his name had appeared on a proscription list. He had claims upon the government, which was by no means favourably disposed towards him. I asked him how things were going on, and he replied, "Very well; no opposition is made to my demands. I have no reason to complain." This reminded me of the man in the "Lettres Persanes," who admired the excellent order of the finances under Colbert, because his pension was promptly paid. I congratulated my friend on the justice which the government rendered him, as well as on the justice which he rendered to the government; and I remarked, that if the same course were adopted towards every one, all parties would speedily be conciliated. "I do not think so," said my friend. "If the government persist in its present course, it cannot possibly stand, and we shall have the emperor back again."—"That," said I, "would be a very great misfortune; and even if such were the wish of France, it would be opposed by Europe. You, who are so devotedly attached to France, cannot be indifferent to the danger that would threaten her, if the presence of Bonaparte should bring the foreigners back again. Can you endure to think of the dismemberment of our country?"—"That they would never dare to attempt. But you and I can never agree on the question of the emperor and your Bourbons. We take a totally different view of the matter. You had cause to complain of Bonaparte: but I had only reason to be satisfied with him. But tell me, what would you do if he were to return?"—"Bonaparte return!"—"Yes."—"Upon my word, the best thing I could do would be to set off as speedily as I could, and that is certainly what I should do. I am thoroughly convinced that he would never pardon me for the part I have taken in the restoration, and I candidly confess that I should not hesitate a moment to save my life by leaving France."—"Well, you are wrong; for I am convinced, that if you would range yourself among the number of his friends, you might have whatever you wished—titles, honours, riches. Of this I could give you assurance."—"All this, I must tell you, does not tempt me. I love France as dearly as you do, and I am convinced that she can never be happy under Bonaparte. If he should return, I will go and live abroad."

This is only part of a conversation which lasted a considerable

* Ferrand was so incrusted in old prejudices, that he said one day, in the presence of several persons, that the charter would have been a very good thing if it had been duly registered by the parliament of Paris.

time, and, as is often the case after a long discussion, my friend retained his opinion, and I mine. However, this second warning, this hypothesis of the return of Bonaparte, made me reflect, and I soon received another hint, which gave additional weight to the preceding ones. An individual with whom I was well acquainted, and whom I knew from his principles and connexions to be entirely devoted to the royal cause, communicated to me some extraordinary circumstances, which he said alarmed him. Among other things he said, "The day before yesterday I met Charles de Labédoyère, who, you know, is my intimate friend. I remarked that he had an air of agitation and abstraction. I invited him to come and dine with me; but he declined, alleging, as an excuse, that we should not be alone. He then asked me to go and dine with him yesterday, as he wanted to talk with me. I accepted his invitation, and we conversed a long time on political affairs and the situation of France. You know my sentiments are quite the reverse of his, so we disputed and wrangled, though we are still very good friends. But what alarms me is, that at parting Charles pressed my hand, saying, 'Adieu; to-morrow I set off for Grenoble. In a month you will hear something of Charles de Labédoyère.'"

These three successive communications appeared to me very extraordinary. The two first were made to me by persons interested in the event, and the third by one who dreaded it. They all presented a striking coincidence with the intrigues at Plombières a few months before. In the month of January I determined to mention the business to M. de Blacas, who then engrossed all credit and all power, and through whose medium alone any thing could reach the sovereign. I need scarcely add, that my intention was merely to mention to him the facts, without naming the individuals from whom I obtained them. After all, however, M. de Blacas did not receive me, and I only had the honour of speaking to his secretary, who, if the fact deserve to be recorded, was an abbé named Fleuriel. This personage, who was an extraordinary specimen of impertinence and self-conceit, would have been an admirable study for a comic poet. He had all the dignity belonging to the great secretary of a great minister, and, with an air of indifference, he told me that the count was not there; but M. de Blacas *was* there, and I knew it.

Devoted as I was to the cause of the Bourbons, I thought it my duty to write that very day to M. de Blacas, to request an interview: I received no answer. Two days after I wrote a second letter, in which I informed M. de Blacas that I had something of the greatest importance to communicate to him: this letter remained unnoticed, like the first. Unable to account for this strange treatment, I again repaired to the Pavillon de Flore, and requested the Abbé Fleuriel to explain to me, if he could, the cause of his master's silence. "Sir," said he, "I re-

ceived your two letters, and laid them before the count; I cannot tell why he has not sent you an answer; but *Monsieur le Comte* is so much engaged . . . . . *Monsieur le Comte* is so overwhelmned with business, that . . . . . ”——“ *Monsieur le Comte* may, perhaps, repent of it. Good morning, sir.”

I thus had personal experience of the truth of what I had often heard respecting M. de Blacas. That favourite, who succeeded Count d'Avaray, enjoyed the full confidence of the king, and concentrated the sovereign power in his own cabinet. The only means of transmitting any communication to Louis XVIII. was to get it addressed to M. de Blacas by one of his most intimate friends.

Convinced as I was of the danger that threatened France, and unable to break through the blockade which M. de Blacas had formed round the person of the king, I determined to write to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna, and acquaint him with the communications that had been made to me. M. de Talleyrand corresponded directly with the king, and I doubt not that my information at length reached the ears of his majesty. But when Louis XVIII. was informed of what was to happen, it was too late to avert the danger.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME III.

NAPOLEON'S QUARREL WITH METTERNICH.

Napoleon upbraided Metternich with having favoured his adversaries, by being so tardy in opening the negotiation. He intimated that the Austrian minister perhaps staid away, in order that France might be reduced to a lower state than at the opening of the campaign; while now that he had gained two battles, Austria thrust in her mediation, that he might be prevented from following up his success. In claiming to be a negotiator, Austria, he said, was neither his friend nor his impartial judge—she was his enemy. "You were about to declare yourselves," he said, "when the victory at Lutzen rendered it prudent in the first place to collect more forces. Now you have assembled behind the skreen of the Bohemian mountains 200,000 men, under Schwartzenberg's command. Ah, Metternich! I guess the purpose of your cabinet. You wish to profit by my embarrassments, and seize on the favourable moment to regain as much as you can of what I have taken from you. The only question with you is, whether you will make most by allowing me to ransom myself, or by going to war with me. You are uncertain on that point; and perhaps you only come here to ascertain which is your best course. Well, let us drive a bargain: how much is it you want?"

To this insulting commencement Metternich replied, that "the only advantage desired by his master, was to see that moderation and respect for the rights of nations which filled his own bosom, restored to the general councils of Europe, and such a well-balanced system introduced as should place the universal tranquillity under the guarantee of an association of independent states."

It was easy to perceive which way this pointed, and to anticipate the conclusion. Napoleon affected to treat it as a figure of speech, which was to cloak the private views of Austria. "I speak clearly," he said, "and come to the point. Will it suit you to accept of Illyria, and to remain neutral? Your neutrality

is all I require. I can deal with the Russians and Prussians with my own army."

"Ah, sire," replied Metternich, "it depends solely on your majesty to unite all our forces with yours. But the truth must be told. Matters are come to that extremity, that Austria cannot remain neutral—we must be with you, or against you."

After this explicit declaration, from which it was to be inferred, that Austria would not lay aside her arms, unless Bonaparte would comply with the terms which she had fixed upon as the conditions of a general pacification, and that she was determined to refuse all that might be offered as a bribe for her neutrality, the Emperor of France and the Austrian statesman retired into a cabinet, apart from the secretaries, where it is to be presumed Metternich communicated more specifically the conditions which Austria had to propose. Napoleon's voice was presently heard, exclaiming aloud, "What! not only Illyria, but half of Italy, the restoration of the Pope, and the abandoning of Poland, and the resignation of Spain, and Holland, and the Confederation of the Rhine, and Switzerland! Is this your moderation? You hawk about your alliance from the one camp to the other, where the greatest partition of territory is to be obtained, and then you talk of the independence of nations! In plain truth, you would have Italy; Sweden demands Norway; Prussia requires Saxony; England would have Holland and Belgium. You would dismember the French empire; and all these changes to be operated by Austria's mere threat of going to war. Can you pretend to win, by a single stroke of the pen, so many of the strongest fortresses in Europe, the keys of which I have gained by battles and victories? And think you that I will be so docile as to march back my soldiers, with their arms reversed, over the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and by subscribing a treaty, which is one vast capitulation, deliver myself, like a fool, into the hands of my enemies, and trust for a doubtful permission to exist, to their generosity? Is it when my army is triumphing at the gates of Berlin and Breslau, that Austria hopes to extort such a cession from me, without striking a blow, or drawing a sword? It is an affront to expect it. And is it my father-in-law who entertains such a project? Is it he who sends you to me? In what attitude would he place me before the eyes of the French people! He is in a strange mistake if he supposes that a mutilated throne can, in France, afford shelter to his daughter and his grandson. Ah! Metternich," he concluded, "what has England given you to induce you to make war on me?"

The Austrian minister disdaining to defend himself against so coarse an accusation, only replied by a look of scorn and resentment. A profound silence followed, during which Napoleon and Metternich traversed the apartment with long steps, without looking at each other. Napoleon dropped his hat, perhaps to

give a turn to this awkward situation. But Metternich was too deeply affronted for any office of courtesy, and the emperor was obliged to lift it himself. Bonaparte then resumed the discourse, in a more temperate strain, and said he did not yet despair of peace. He insisted that the congress should be assembled, and that, even if hostilities should recommence, negotiations for peace should, nevertheless, not be discontinued; and, like a wary trader when driving a bargain, he whispered Metternich, that his offer of Illyria was not his last word.

His last word, however, had been in reality spoken, and both he and Metternich were fully acquainted with each other's views. Metternich had refused all private conditions which could be offered to detach Austria from the general cause, and Bonaparte had rejected as an insult any terms which went to lower him to a rank of equality with the other sovereigns of Europe. He would be Cæsar or nothing. It did not mend the prospect of negotiation, that he had formally insulted one of the persons most influential in the Austrian councils. The chance of peace seemed further removed than ever.

Accordingly, all the proceedings at the Congress of Prague were lingering and evasive.—See *Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon.* (*Editor.*)

SWEDISH TREATY.

Art. 1. His Majesty the King of Sweden engages to employ a corps of not less than thirty thousand men in a direct operation upon the continent, against the common enemies of the two high contracting parties. This army shall act in concert with the Russian troops placed under the command of his royal highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, according to stipulations to this effect already existing between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg.

Art. 2. The said Courts having communicated to his Britannic Majesty the engagements subsisting between them, and having formally demanded his said Majesty's accession thereto, and his Majesty the King of Sweden having, by the stipulations contained in the preceding article, given a proof of the desire which animates him to contribute also on his part to the success of the common cause; his Britannic Majesty being desirous, in return, to give an immediate and unequivocal proof of his resolution to join his interests to those of Sweden and Russia, promises and engages by the present Treaty to accede to the conventions already existing between those two powers, insomuch that his Britannic Majesty will not only not oppose any obstacle to the annexation and union in perpetuity of the kingdom of Norway as an integral part to the kingdom of Sweden, but also will assist the views of his Majesty the King of Sweden to that effect, either by his good offices, or by employing, if it should be necessary, his naval co-operation in concert with the Swedish or Russian forces. It is, nevertheless, to be understood, that recourse shall not be had to

force for effecting the union of Norway to Sweden, unless his Majesty the King of Denmark shall have previously refused to join the alliance of the north, upon the conditions stipulated in the engagements subsisting between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg; and his Majesty the King of Sweden engages that this union shall take place with every possible regard and consideration for the happiness and liberty of the people of Norway.

Art. 3. In order to give more effect to the engagements contracted by his Majesty the King of Sweden, in the first article of the present treaty, which have for object direct operations against the common enemies of the two Powers; and in order to put his Swedish Majesty in a state to begin without loss of time, and as soon as the season shall permit, the said operations, his Britannic Majesty engages to furnish to his Majesty the King of Sweden (independently of other succours which general circumstances may place at his disposal) for the service of the campaign of the present year, as well as for the equipment, the transport, and maintenance of his troops, the sum of one million sterling, payable at London monthly, to the agent who shall be authorized by his Swedish Majesty to receive the same, in such manner as not to exceed the payment of two hundred thousand pounds sterling each month, until the whole shall be paid.

Art. 4. It is agreed between the two high contracting parties that an advance, of which the amount and the time of payment shall be determined between them, and which is to be deducted from the million before stipulated, shall be made to his Majesty the King of Sweden for "mise en campagne," and for the first march of the troops; the remainder of the before-mentioned succours are to commence from the day of the landing of the Swedish army, as it is stipulated by the two high contracting parties in the first article of the present treaty.

Art. 5. The two high contracting parties being desirous of giving a solid and lasting guarantee to their relations, as well political as commercial, his Britannic Majesty, animated with a desire to give to his ally evident proofs of his sincere friendship, consents to cede to his Majesty the King of Sweden, and to his successors to the crown of Sweden, in the order of succession established by his said Majesty and the States-General of his kingdom, under date the 26th of September, 1810, the possession of Guadaloupe, in the West Indies, and to transfer to his Swedish Majesty all the rights of his Britannic Majesty over that island, in so far as his said Majesty actually possesses the same. This colony shall be given up to the commissioners of his Majesty the King of Sweden in the course of the month of August of the present year, or three months after the landing of the Swedish troops on the continent; the whole to take place according to the conditions agreed upon between the two high contracting parties, in the separate article annexed to the present treaty.

Art. 6. As a reciprocal consequence of what has been stipulated in the preceding article, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to grant, for the space of twenty years, to take date from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty the right of *entrepôt* in the ports of Gottenburg, Carlshamn, and Stralsund, whenever this last-mentioned place shall return under

the Swedish dominion, for all commodities, productions, or merchandise, whether of Great Britain or her colonies, laden on board British or Swedish vessels. The said commodities or merchandise, whether they be of such kind as may be introduced and subject to duty in Sweden, or whether their introduction be prohibited, shall pay without distinction, as duty of *entrepôt*, one per cent. *ad valorem* upon entry, and the same upon discharge: as to every other particular relating to this object, the general regulations existing in Sweden shall be conformed to; treating always the subjects of his Britannic Majesty upon the footing of the most favoured nations.

Art. 7. From the day of the signature of the present treaty, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, reciprocally promise not to separate their mutual interests, and particularly those of Sweden, which are referred to in the present treaty, in any negotiation whatever with their common enemies.

Art. 8. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Stockholm within four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Stockholm, the 2d of March, in the year of our Lord, 1813.

ALEX. HOPE. (L. S.)
ED. THORNTON. (L. S.)
LE COMTE D'ENGESTROM. (L. S.)
G. BARON DE WETTERSTEDT. (L. S.)

SKETCH BY ERIC PAPE. FROM THE PAINTING BY FRANÇOIS GÉRARD, IN THE MUSEUM OF VERSAILLES.

STÉPHANIE-LOUISE-ADRIENNE, GRAND DUCHESS OF BADEN.

A LIST

OF THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH TITLES AND DIGNITIES CONFERRED BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

King of Holland,	Prince Louis Bonaparte
King of Naples,	Marshal Murat, Prince Joachim Napoleon
Queen of Naples,	Caroline Bonaparte
King of Spain,	Prince Joseph Napoleon
King of Westphalia,	Prince Jerome Napoleon
Viceroy of Italy,	Prince Eugène Beauharnais
Princess Borghese,	Pauline Bonaparte
Princess Baden,	Stephanie de la Pagerie
Grand Duchess of Florence,	Eliza Bonaparte
Grand Duke of Berg,	Prince Charles Louis Napoleon
Grand Duke of Warsaw,	Frederick Augustus IV., King and Elector of Saxony
Archbishop of Lyons,	Cardinal Fesch
Prince of Pontecorvo,	Marshal Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden
Prince of Neufchatel,	Marshal Berthier, vice Constable of France
Prince of Benevento,	Talleyrand, vice Arch-Chancellor
Prince of Eckmühl,	Marshal Davoust
Grand Duke of Florence,	General Bacchiocchi
Duke of Abrantes,	Marshal Junot
Duke of Albufera,	Marshal Suchet
Duke of Auerstadt,	Marshal Davoust
Duke of Bassano,	Maret (Secretary of State)
Duke of Belluno,	Marshal Victor
Duke of Cadore,	Champagny (Minister of Foreign Affairs)
Duke of Castiglione,	Marshal Augereau
Duke of Cornegliano,	Marsheal Moncey
Duke of Dalmatia,	Marshal Soult
Duke of Dantzic,	Marshal Lefebvre
Duke of Elchingen,	Marshal Ney
Duke of Friuli,	Marshal Duroc, Grand Master of the Palace
Duke of Montebello,	Marshal Lannes
Duke of Istria,	Marshal Bessières, Com. of the Imperial Gd.
Duke of Otranto,	Marshal Fouché
Duke of Padua,	General Arigia

Duke of Parma,	Cambacérès, Arch-Chancellor
Duke of Piacenza,	Marshal Le Brun, P. Arch-Treasurer
Duke of Ragusa,	Marshal Marmont
Duke of Reggio,	Marshal Oudinot
Duke of Rovigo,	General Savary, Minister of Police
Duke of Tarento,	Marshal Macdonald
Duke of Treviso,	Marshal Mortier
Duke of Valmy,	Marshal Kellerman
Duke of Vicenza,	General Caulaincourt, Grand Chamberlain.

END OF VOL. III.

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